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Reportage on London Conference on Defense Issues

Lushev Urges Short-Range Missile Reduction

LD1805160889 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1415 GMT 18 May 89

[By Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defence correspondent]

[Text] The insistence of Mrs Thatcher and President Bush on the need to modernise NATO's short-range nuclear weapons could drag Europe into another arms race, the Warsaw Pact's military commander warned in London today. General Petr Lushev told the Royal United Services Institute [RUSI] any move to replace NATO's 88 Lance launchers with a more potent system could become a major obstacle in the Vienna conventional arms talks. But, while he was insistent that the issue of short-range weapons should be addressed immediately, his tone was more conciliatory than that of Soviet political leaders in recent days who have tried to link success in Vienna with a start on talks to cut short-range systems. He acknowledged the Soviet Union would like to extend the scope of the Vienna talks to cover not just tanks, artillery and armoured personnel carriers but also strike aircraft and tactical nuclear weapons. "But we understand that these negotiations involve certain difficulties and for that reason we are not linking one with the other," said General Lushev.

Mrs Thatcher and the US Administration have repeatedly ruled out negotiations to reduce short-range weapons which are viewed as an integral part of NATO's strategy of flexible response. But Gen Lushev told the audience of leading figures in world defence: "In the not too distant future, the problem of tactical nuclear weapons may become a major obstacle in the way of the Vienna talks unless it is addressed now." He added: "These weapons are closely interwoven with conventional armed forces, basically in the operational and organisational sense. Without the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, it is hardly possible to speak seriously about the elimination of the threat of war."

The modernisation being discussed by NATO involved the development of new medium-range missiles similar to those being eliminated in the Soviet Union under the INF Treaty such as the SS-23. "It might lead to a departure from the INF Treaty and to the emergence of a dangerous situation," he said. "Europe can once again find itself drawn into an arms race with all the ensuing negative consequences."

But the head of NATO's military committee General Wolfgang Altenberg, who followed General Lushev to the podium, left the door open on the question of negotiations. "My father always told me never to say never," he said. "It's a question of timing and intelligence." General Lushev denied Soviet tactical nuclear weapons had been modernised and described the SS-21 as a "very ordinary" missile with a range of no more than 70 kilometres.

The RUSI conference marked the first meeting between the military commanders in chief of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. NATO's supreme allied commander in Europe, General John Galvin, was replying to General Lushev later today. It is General Lushev's first visit to the West. The two military commanders warmly shook hands for the media after a quiet chat over tea. Gen Lushev said: "We hope this first meeting will be followed by stronger contacts and ties which will serve to strengthen confidence and trust between East and West."

Gen Galvin agreed that more talks on military subjects were needed. "Communications are easier soldier to soldier." But he took issue with his Warsaw Pact counterpart on the subject of modernisation and read out a lengthy list of points he would put to him if they were holding formal talks. This included the removal of forward base supplies, the reduction of the overall "blitz" capability of both sides, the slowing down of armaments production and a timetable for cuts in tanks.

But his prime concern was the modernisation of Lance. He contradicted Gen Lushev's earlier statement and claimed the Soviets had modernised all their missiles over the past 10 years giving them greater range and accuracy. "Honestly and frankly, my view is they have modernised over the last decade and it is almost complete," he said. "They now seem to be saying good, cut, stop modernisation, while we have not modernised the one ground-based tactical missile system we have and that is Lance."

But he praised Gen Lushev's decision to come to the West for the first time for their meeting which had been not just significant but "possibly even historic".

Conference Views Propects for Dialogue

LD1805190889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1723 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] London, 18 May TASS—Army General P.G. Lushev, commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, who is visiting here, spoke today at the annual conference on problems of military policy, disarmament and security in Europe held by the Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies. He spoke about the activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization to consolidate peace and international security and about the practical steps being undertaken by the Warsaw Pact member states to implement the principles of the new political thinking.

The conference participants discussed in detail the prospects for dialogue between East and West on military-political questions and ways of strengthening confidence- and security-building measures, primarily on the European continent.

Within the framework of the conference, unofficial meetings took place betrwen Army Gen P.G. Lushev and General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander Europe. The two military leaders had a detailed conversation on questions of military doctrine and the approaches of the Warsaw Pact and NATO to key problems of international security. Opionion was heard from both sides about the importance of continuing contacts between the two military alliances.

On the same day Army Gen Lushev had a conversation with G. Younger, Great Britain's secretary of state for defense. He also met General R. Vincent, vice chief of defense staff.

Lushev Holds News Conference

LD1905072189 Moscow TASS in English 0627 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] London May 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Biryukov: Soviet Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation member-countries now visiting London at the invitation of the director of the Royal United Service Institute (RUSI), told a news conference on Thursday that the Soviet Union's proposal to cut back armed forces on the border with China "is one more example of the USSR's vigorous actions to lower military confrontation not only in Europe but also in Asia and in the Far East". [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 2250 GMT on 18 May transmits a similar report on Lushev's news conference which renders the preceding sentence as follows: "Soviet Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact joint armed forces, now visiting London at the invitation of the Royal United Service Institute, gave a news conference on Thursday," omitting the information on the USSR proposal to cut back PRC border forces.]

"The fact that the commander-in-chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation arrived in Britain and held meetings and talks, though unofficial, with representatives of the British military and political leadership and also within the framework of the conference with the supreme allied commander in Europe is a sign of the times," Lushev said. [The TASS Russian version adds: "On this we agreed with Sir Geoffrey Howe, British foreign secretary, and with the representatives of the military command of the country."]

"New political thinking is being asserted in international relations. Mistrust and suspicion give way to a sincere desire to understand each other, to sort out in mutual interests and concerns. Our arrival in London is a new and important element of trust in East-West relations. Boosting military contacts between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO will help build trust and warm the political climate in Europe and all over the world".

Responding to journalists' questions regarding Soviet chemical weapons stocks, Lushev said that, by weight, the Soviet Union has not more than 50,000 tonnes of poisonous substances. "We are pushing for a convention banning chemical weapons with detailed and stringent on-site verification".

The Soviet military leader said it was possible to continue the talks on conventional arms reduction without linkage to a simultaneous cutback in nuclear weapons. "But it would be desirable to consider these elements in their integrity. There is also the need to begin talks on naval forces where NATO has a considerable preponderance over the Warsaw Treaty".

Lushev noted that the unofficial meeting with General John Galvin, supreme allied commander in Europe, will produce useful results in terms of a further rapprochement and understanding of the views and prospects for solving various issues between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. He expressed the view that this meeting, an historic first, will be followed by other contacts which will contribute toward East- West rapprochement. "I believe and hope that there will also be official meetings," he stressed.

In view of the allegations about Soviet missile modernisation, Lushev said that all Soviet tactical missiles were produced 15-17 years ago and that they were not and are not modernised. The SS-23 missile has been eliminated under the Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty.

Lance II Plan Causes 'Great Concern' in Europe

PM1705110989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Yuriy Zhukov "Viewpoint": "Missiles and Common Sense"]

[Text] The names of the Oka and Lance II nuclear missiles have now started appearing in newspaper headlines. As M.S. Gorbachev mentioned in conversation with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker 11 May, the Soviet missiles of the Oka type, which are called SS-23 in NATO terminology, did not come under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. But the Soviet side agreed to their inclusion in the treaty on the basis that neither side would produce or station weapons of this type in the future.

But the Pentagon has decided, in the guise of "modernizing" the short-range Lance missiles stationed in the FRG, to create [sozdat] and supply to NATO a totally new missile of virtually the same type as the Oka, which we are eliminating in accordance with the Treaty on

Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It will be called Lance II. Moreover, the new missile's range is several times greater than the Lance's and approximately the same as the Oka's.

This naturally alarms many of the U.S. allies—above all the FRG, on whose territory the nuclear missiles would have to be used in the event of a military conflict.

First, they are put on their guard by Washington's essentially ultimatum-type demands that they hastily consent to the manufacture and stationing of Lance II's, when it is known that the Lance missiles which the new missiles are supposedly intended to replace (although their technical and tactical specifications are not comparable) are to remain in commission through 1995.

Second, they are bewildered that this venture is being undertaken at the very time when talks aimed at decisively reducing military confrontation in Europe have at last begun in Vienna and the Warsaw Pact countries, seeking to create a favorable climate for these talks, have made large, unilateral reductions in their arms.

Third, it could not fail to be seen that such "modernization" of short-range nuclear missiles represents, in point of fact, an obvious circumvention of the USSR-U.S. accord not to manufacture and station Oka-class missiles.

This is why the Warsaw Pact countries' proposal to begin talks also on tactical nuclear weapons without delay in parallel w ith the talks on reducing conventional arms has met with active support in many NATO member countries, and in the FRG above all. However, Washington and London do not want to hear of this.

You simply cannot count how many trips leading figures of the NATO countries have made from West Europe to the United States and from the United States to West Europe, how many telephone conversations there have been among their leaders, and how many bilateral and multilateral consultations have taken place. The leaders of the FRG and a number of other states have literally had their arms twisted in an attempt to make them agree at least to a "compromise"—to accept "in principle" the agreed decision on the future stationing of Lance II's while the U.S. military industry manufactures them, so that then the generals can spread their hands and say: "Nothing can be done now—the missiles are ready and cannot be discarded! Let's start deploying them..."

All this arouses great concern in all Europeans, both in the west and in the east of the continent, particularly as the new USSR initiatives and, in particular, our decision on the unilateral withdrawal of 500 warheads of tactical nuclear means from our allies' territory in 1989 and our declaration of readiness to withdraw all nuclear ammunition from there altogether during 1989-1991 on condition that the United States takes a reciprocal step are opening up real prospects for making Europe nuclear-free.

A meeting of the NATO countries' state and government leaders will be held in Brussels at the end of this month. There a reply is to be given to the Warsaw Pact proposal to hold talks on tactical nuclear missiles. I believe that elementary common sense demands that this reply be worked out not under the influence of militarist ambitions, not under pressure from current judgments of a propaganda nature, but with due regard for the prospects of developing international ties.

The responsibility of political leaders for the destiny of the modern world in a situation when so much has already been done to eliminate the consequences of the "cold war" and to proceed to civilized forms of international relations is too great for them to be able to afford to cancel out the accords reached and return to an uncontrolled nuclear arms race.

Status of Arms Control Debate Assessed

PM1705080589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Manki Ponomarev article under the rubric "World Today: Problems and Opinions": "Dialogue Rather Than Confrontation"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] I think that it would be correct to say that in the last 3-4 years the Warsaw Pact Organization has entered a new period in its development. This is linked with the restructuring being implemented in the Soviet Union, the renewal of socialism in other member states, and the introduction of the principles of the new political thinking into the practice of international relations. As for the Warsaw Pact's military activity, the adoption in May 1987 of a new military doctrine by which all member states are now guided was of particular significance here.

This doctrine reflects the commonality of the defensive military-political aims uniting the states. Like each country's doctrine, it is subordinate to the task of preventing war—both nuclear and conventional. Given the very nature of the socialist social system, we did not and do not link our future with the military solution of international problems. The Warsaw Pact countries advocate solving all contentious international issues solely by peaceful and political means. They are striving for political dialogue rather than confrontation and military opposition.

At the same time, the document "On Warsaw Pact Military Doctrine" stressed that, while advocating disarmament measures, the Warsaw Pact countries are forced to keep their armed forces at a strength and level

enabling them to repel any outside attack on any member state. Their armed forces are maintained at a combat readiness sufficient to prevent them being taken unawares. The allied socialist states do not aspire to greater security than other countries but they will not agree to lesser security.

The allied socialist states are now engaged in military building on the principle of equal sufficiency for defense. To a considerable extent this principle necessitated a new approach both to the organizational disposition of the armed forces and their arsenal and to the practice of operational-tactical training. In the light of the prevailing military-political situation, the Defense Ministers Committee last year defined specific avenues for the further improvement of the Joint Armed Forces in accordance with the Warsaw Pact states' defensive military doctrine and national military doctrines. This is being implemented with consideration for due sufficiency of arms and armed forces at the lowest possible levels, the further broadening of cooperation and combat collaboration between the fraternal armies, and the maintenance of troops' (forces') high combat readiness to fulfill their duty of defending socialism.

These directives are being steadily implemented. It is well known that the Warsaw Pact states have embarked on a major phased unilateral reduction in their armed forces. It is well known that the Warsaw Pact countries have announced a reduction of 296,300 men in their troops in Europe. The number of tanks will be reduced by almost 12,000, the number of guns and mortars by more than 9,000, and combat aircraft by 930. The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the GDR has already begun. At the same time other Warsaw Pact countries have also set about reducing their arms. Thus, six GDR National Peoples' Army tank regiments will have been disbanded, and 600 tanks and 50 combat aircraft removed from operational status by late-1990.

The Vienna talks on confidence- and security-building measures and conventional armed forces in Europe should be of great significance for relaxing Warsaw Pact-NATO military confrontation. The discussion of the problems raised at the talks has revealed a considerable amount of consensus and similarity in a number of the sides' fundamental positions. New Warsaw Pact proposals that accord not only with the interests of those directly involved in the talks but also with those of neutral and nonaligned states are now on the negotiating table. Their adoption would begin a qualitatively new state in European security and East-West relations as a whole.

Last Friday additional proposals which the Soviet Union is submitting to the Vienna conventional arms talks were made public. The proposal is to reach an agreement on a radical reduction in Warsaw Pact and NATO arms and armed forces by 1996-1997. What is the essence of these proposals?

First, if they are adopted each military alliance would be left with an identical number of the armed forces and arms under discussion at the Vienna talks: 1,350 men; 1,500 tactical combat aircraft; 1,700 helicopters; 20,000 tanks; 24,000 artillery pieces, mortars, and multiple rocket launch systems; and 28,000 ground forces combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers. Each alliance would have to reduce the numerical strength of its armed forces by more than 1 million men. NATO would cut its combat aircraft and helicopters by more than 2,500 units. The Warsaw Pact would also cut these systems but to a lesser degree, as NATO has more of these aircraft and helicopters. The Warsaw Pact would cut 40,000 tanks, 46,000 artillery pieces and mortars, and approximately 42,000 ground force combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers. But NATO would cut these types of weapons to a lesser degree as it has less of them.

Second, the Soviet Union has already decided to unilaterally withdraw from its allies' territory in 1989 500 tactical nuclear warheads (166 air-launched [aviatsionnyy], 50 artillery, and 284 missile warheads). The USSR is prepared to withdraw all nuclear munitions from its allies' territory in 1989-1991 provided that the United States takes comparable countersteps.

These new fundamentally important proposals were expounded by M.S. Gorbachev during his meeting 11 May with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker. During this meeting they also discussed the question of the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons for Europe. The United States and Britain are continuing to insist on this modernization contrary to the wishes of their West European NATO allies. They see tactical nuclear weapons as one of the most important means of implementing their strategic concept of "deterrence," which by rights should be called the concept of nuclear "intimidation." The U.S.-NATO modernization plans are arousing serious concern not only in the Soviet Union or the states of Eastern Europe but also in all the continent's countries.

The question of the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons seems deadlocked today. However, recent years have shown that if a courageous approach is displayed any barriers can be overcome and any deadlocks avoided, as happened during the preparation and conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The Warsaw Pact states' aim—as their organization enters its 35th year—is to escape from the blind alley of confrontation into the broad open expanses of peaceful cooperation.

CEMA Executive Committee Session Ends in Moscow

LD1805145389 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—The 131st session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) Executive Committee, which closed here today, considered pressing issues of the CMEA member-countries' multilateral cooperation, which were put on the agenda of the regular 45th session of the council.

Among them are problems and main directions in enhancing the social thrust of socialist countries' economic cooperation, progress in implementing the comprehensive programme of the CMEA member-countries' scientific-technical cooperation for the period ending in 2000, questions of organising their interaction in the licence work, and meeting the CMEA countries' requirements in up-to-date electric communication equipment.

The session examined and approved a report by the Executive Committee on its activity over a year, which will be submitted to the council session, and information on the work to coordinate the CMEA member-countries' national economic plans for 1991-1995.

At the session an exchange of views was held on progress in overhauling the mechanicm of multilateral links, refining its planning instruments and using on a wider scale commodity-and-money relations and progressive forms of cooperation. The partners discussed the development of socialist countries' joint ventures and also prospects for cooperation between CMEA and EEC.

Commenting on the outcome of the session, Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee, noted that an attempt was made for the first time to analyze the council's practical contribution to tackling social problems of its member-countries and on this basis to introduce a harmonised system of specific actions, programmes and projects.

This will enable the CMEA countries to move social issues from an unjustified modest place, held by them in the past few years, to the rank of overriding ones. At issue are such projects as the development of new types of consumer electronics and video gear, modern cars, medical equipment, and creating material resources for agriculture.

Concerning the fulfillment of the comprehensive programme of scientific-technical cooperation, Lukanov said that the CMEA countries have made a considerable headway in the field of research and development projects: Over a thousand of them have already been completed, about 500 new products have been developed and some 80 per cent of projects on the comprehensive programme will have been implemented by the end of 1990.

Hungarian Official Comments

LD1905042289 Budapest MTI in English 2034 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 18 (MTI)—Hungary's main effort is to renew bilateral economic relations, said Deputy Minister Dr Peter Szonyi, leader of the international economic cooperation office affiliated to the Hungarian Government, in Moscow.

Following the now ended session of the CEMA Executive Committee, Mr Szonyi said, with respect to the reform of the CEMA, that the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and, in part Bulgaria as well, represent similar positions. At the current session, the Hungarian side firmly noted the necessity of the market mechanism.

'The CEMA can be a good framework for many-sided cooperation, but not with the coordination of plan directives, but through the creatio of economic conditions,' Mr Szonyi stressed.

Hungary's Grosz Meets Pact Chiefs in Budapest

LD1805185989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Budapest, 18 May (TASS)—K. Grosz, the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, [MSZMP] received here today the heads of the main political directorates of the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states who are holding their meeting in Budapest. Army General A.D. Lizichev, head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, informed him about the work of the meeting.

The MSZMP general secretary said that the MSZMP Central Committee recently formulated its point of view on the Warsaw Pact's modernization. According to his appraisal, the Warsaw Pact is fulfilling its purpose and guaranteeing the peace and security of the member states. However, the Politburo considers, in particular, that it is necesary to strengthen the political elements in the activities of the Warsaw Pact to develop internal democracy and to abolish formal features. The Politburo is in favor of the regular work of the special commission on disarmament and supports the Warsaw pact in the fact that it is paying greater attention to other issues as well, including the issue of human rights and ecological protection.

F. Karpati, the Hungarian defense minister, was present at the meeting.

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 18 May

Reports Ligachev, Solomentsev Statements

LD1805144189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow 18 May (TASS)—Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, read the following statement by Yegor Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and Mikhail Solomentsev, former CPSU Central Committee Politburo member. The statement was addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission and the USSR Procuracy.

"On 12 May 1989," writes Yegor Ligachev in his statement dated 15 May, "Nikolay Ivanov, USSR public prosectors office investigator, stated on Leningrad television that in a criminal case of bribery 'new Politburo members were being glimpsed fleetingly,' and here my name was mentioned. In connection with this, I consider it necessary to state the following: The statement in question is a provaction, slander, a wicked invention. To say the least, it casts upon me the shadow of suspicion of crime.... I request an investigation be conducted and the results published in the press."

"I have learned," writes Mikhail Solomentsev in his statement dated May 17, "that over the last few days Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov, USSR Public Prosecutor's Office investigators, have spoken before workers' collectives in Moscow and Leningrad, on television and radio, making a number of provactive statements about violations of legality, purportedly permitted by some of the country's political leaders. In their speeches they have slandered me, making out that they have materials testifying to my involvement with corrupt circles.... I consider it my party and civic duty to state that the assertions of the USSR Public Prosecutor's Office investigators are impudent provocations, base and hateful lies from start to finish. I solemnly state that I have never and in no circumstances provided cause for such accusations. I see in the statements of these authors not only an undermining of my authority, but also a striving to discredit the party and its cadres. Taking into account what has been stated, I request that we get to the bottom of all this and make Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov answerable in accordance with the law. I request that the results of the investigation be reported in the press."

Notes 'Distorted' U.S. Policy Appraisal

LD1805130389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1224 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 May (TASS)—Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department, stated at a briefing here today that the Soviet Union has taken note of a number of recent U.S. Administration spokesmen statements that give a distorted appraisal of the USSR's policy line and practical actions in the key sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations and disarmament issues.

These statements, he emphasized, are counter not only to the essence and atmosphere of the talks that recently took place in Moscow between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, but also clash with the repeated appraisals expressed by the U.S. side, including at summit level, concerning Soviet proposals and unilateral practical actions in arms reduction.

One gets the impression, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman continued, that the attempts to cast doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet Union's actions in the arms control field are being undertaken to put the U.S. side's position in this most important sphere—a line which remains passive—in a better light.

If the unilateral reduction of Soviet Armed Forces, which is being implemented alongside the readiness expressed by the Soviet leadership to reach accord at the (?23-sided) talks in Vienna and to reduce Warsaw Pact Armed Forces by 40,000 tanks, 46,000 artillery pieces, and 42,000 infantry combat vehicles and armored patrol carriers over 5-7 years is all just "talk," then the Soviet side would like very much to hear similar "talk" from our U.S. partners, on tactical nuclear weapons, for example, stressed Vadim Perfilyev.

Affirms Moscow's Nicaragua Policy

LD1805161889 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, commented at a news briefing here today on foreign news agency reports about the USSR's policy in Central America, which claim that the Soviet Union assumed definite commitments, including on the issue of military supplies to Nicaragua.

Some circles constantly harp on the issue of supplies so as to present the Soviet policy toward settlement in Central America in a distorted light and divert attention from Washington's line which holds up the development of the negotiating process and the efforts of Central American countries themselves to settle the conflict.

These propaganda stunts are used despite the fact that the Soviet Union, displaying restraint, has not supplied weapons to Nicaragua for some time, and the United States knows about this, Perfilyev said.

In the Soviet Union they are convinced that conditions for attaining peace and security in that region can be assured only if all parties show genuine mutual restraint. Perfilyev recalled that at the recent talks in Moscow with

the U.S. secretary of state the Soviet side put foward a specific proposal for halting weapons shipments to Central America from whatever country.

Responding to a journalist's question, Yan Burlyay, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Department of Latin American countries, who took part in the news briefing, clarified the role of the small group of Soviet military specialists and interpreters now staying in Nicaragua.

He stressed that these specialists cannot be regarded as military advisers in the traditional meaning of this word since they did not and do not take part in actions against contras and did not extend assistance to government troops in a combat situation. Their task is only to service military equipment supplied by the Soviet Union, Burlyay said.

Mentions PRC, Spain, Afghanistan

LD1805171489 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—The Soviet-Chinese summit held in the framework of the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the PRC which concluded on Thursday has become an important milestone, leaving behind a period of mutual alienation between the two countries, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here on Thursday.

He said that during the talks the sides arrived at the consensus that relations of good-neighbourliness and equal mutually-beneficial cooperation meet not only the aspirations of the Soviet and the Chinese peoples, but also the interests of consolidating security in Asia, improving the world situation as a whole.

Much importance is attached in the USSR to the forthcoming official visit by Spanish Defence Minister Narcis Serra i Serra, who will arrive in Moscow on May 19 at the invitation of USSR Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, Perfilyev said. This visit is the logical development of the positive processes in Soviet-Spanish relations, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasised. It is hoped in the Soviet Union that inclusion in the area of contacts of a component of a dialogue, absolutely new to relations between the two countries, will help widen the areas of mutual understanding and confidence between the USSR and Spain.

Touching upon the situation in Afghanistan, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Pakistani mercenary forces made another attempt to attack the city of Jalalabad on May 17. It was repulsed by the city's defenders. Food for the population of the city, as well as armaments and ammunition for units protecting Jalalabad were brought to the city in 144 trucks along Kabul-Jalalabad route on May 16-17. Units of the opposition backed by Pakistani tribal militia units and Saudi wahabis made an attempt to cease security posts of government forces in Khowst district. But defenders of the city frustrated the enemy's plans, killing 35 and wounding 15 extremists.

With a reference to the USSR Defence Ministry, the Soviet diplomat refuted reports of the Swedish mass media that the USSR had allegedly buried 400 phosphorous bombs on the bed of the Baltic Sea, as a result of which about 20 tons of phosphorus is now in the Baltic water. "An additional study of other possible ways of phosphorus-containing substances reaching Baltic water, also from ammunition of the times of the second world war, is being conducting at present", he said.

Perfilyev said that prominent Australian businessman and traveller Dick Smith making an around-the-world travel in a sports plane, is flying over Soviet territory. The USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the USSR Foreign Ministry, as well as local Soviet authorities render Dick Smith the necessary assistance.

Petrovskiy Fields Questions on Ecological Security

LD1905101989 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—"In its stance on the environmental protection problem the Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that nature conservation is the all-important component of global security", said Vladimir Petrovskiy. The Soviet deputy foreign minister today spoke at a news conference devoted to ecological security.

He informed journalists about multilateral forums on ecological security to be held in the next two to three years. These forums should be capped by an international conference on the environment, which will be convened under the U.N. auspices in 1992.

However, the existing ecological threat does not allow us to put off actions until the end of the conference. We should act even now within the framework of multilateral, regional, bilateral and unilateral mechanisms. In this regard, the Soviet Union came up with the initiative for setting up at the United Nations Organisation an emergency ecological aid centre which would coordinate a prompt dispatch of international teams of scientists to ecological disaster areas to evaluate the situation and make urgent recommendations. The USSR also favours the creation of an international space laboratory to monitor the state of the environment.

Touching on questions of states' bilateral interaction, Petrovskiy noted with satisfaction that following the recent meeting of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, the exchange of views on ecology acquires a permanent status within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. political dialogue.

Reportage on International Ozone Conference
18300590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by A. Boldinyuk: "The Ozone Hole—A Signal From the Future?"]

[Text] Not very much time has passed since the time in 1985 when the British scientists reported their sensational data about the catastrophic depletion of the protective ozone layer over the Antarctic. During these years the world community has taken a number of steps to halt this process. The Vienna convention concerning protection of the ozone layer was adopted in March 1985 and the Montreal Protocol went into effect on 1 January 1989. It stipulates the commitments of the states to freeze production and subsequently halt the output of substances that destroy ozone. But nonetheless this global problem has not been removed from the agenda and alarm about the fate of the ozone layer is not decreasing.

What is happening to the ozone now? I asked this question of many scientists—both Soviet and foreign—who were participants in the international meeting of specialists on the ozone layer which took place recently in Moscow. Each of them gave his own interpretation of the processes observed in the earth's protective belt. But all of them recommended going to Dr Rumen Bozhkov, the leader of the program of investigating the ozone layer of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), who carries the authority of a leading expert on this problem.

"There are more than 140 observation stations operating within the framework of the WMO observing the condition of the atmospheric ozone," R. Bozhkov said, "and 45 of them are located in the Soviet Union. The data from these stations are regularly processed and we have an idea of the changes that are taking place. During this time the overall ozone content in the atmosphere has decreased in the Northern Hemisphere by almost 3 percent; during the winter months the reduction is more than 5 percent and in the summer months—about 1 percent. This is brought about by special conditions of the circulation of the air currents during the winter, and also the low temperature contribute to the destructive effects of chemical substances on the atmospheric ozone."

Specialists do not yet have sufficient data to predict changes in the ozone layer—they can only register what is taking place. But when will scientists be able to obtain a complete model of the atmospheric processes and, consequently, try to determine the regions where ozone holes will probably appear? This question was answered for me by a British researcher J. Farman, the person who discovered the ozone hole above the Antarctic.

"It will take at least 10-15 years for us to get a complete picture. This requires extremely powerful computers which could account for the processes taking place in all layers of the atmosphere. While previously we thought that we knew everything about the atmospheric ozone, now it has become clear that we know practically nothing. I understood this when I discovered the ozone hole. This discovery refuted many of our ideas and we came across completely new phenomena in the earth's atmosphere. The ozone hole became a kind of warning to mankind who is thoughtlessly polluting the environment."

Severe measures have been taken against the main cause of the destruction of the ozone layer—chlorofluorocarbons used as coolants and also for aerosol containers. In keeping with the Montreal protocol the countries producing these substances must reduce their output by 50 percent by the end of this century. Today about 1.3 million tons of ozone-destroying substances are produced throughout the world, and no less than 10 percent of them—123,000 tons—are produced by our country. The United States accounts for 35 percent of the output of chlorofluorocarbons, the CEMA countries—40 percent, and Japan—10 percent. A number of countries have suggested increasing the restrictions under the Montreal protocol in order to achieve complete elimination of the output of freons by the end of the 1990's. This was announced at the first meeting of representatives of countries participating in the Vienna convention which recently ended in Helsinki.

The leader of the Soviet delegation, the deputy chairman of Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology], V. M. Zakharov, noted in his speech that the Soviet Union, recognizing the seriousness of the problem of destruction of the ozone layer, is prepared to take the most radical measures to reduce the discharge of chlorofluorocarbons into the planet's atmosphere. Their per capita production in our country is 0.33 kilograms, while in Western countries this indicator reaches 1.5 kilograms. The production of these goods is not increasing—fully in keeping with the commitments under the Montreal protocol, and this was announced at the London conference on the ozone layer and at the meeting in Helsinki. There is the problem of developing products that do not destroy ozone and changing production capacities over to their utilization. It is planned to begin the output of these products on an industrial scale in 1992-1993.

Recently one has frequently had occasion to hear accusations against departments that produce freon—they say that the Soviet Union lags behind the other countries in the fulfillment of its commitments. What do they think about this in the United Nations? I asked Dr. R. Bozhkov about this (remember that the World Meteorological Organization is a specialized UN institution).

"Your country has always backed up its international commitments with concrete deeds. The same thing can be said about the provisions of the Montreal protocol, which makes it incumbent on the participants to reduce the production of freons. Of course it will be difficult for your departments to do this—it is still necessary to

develop alternative replacements for chlorofluorocarbons and to revise plans. But the world community has no doubt that your commitments will be fulfilled."

Our country has created a special interdepartmental commission to coordinate all the work for fulfillment of Soviet commitments related to the convention concerning protection of the ozone layer. The program for preserving the ozone is gradually taking on real outlines and is reaching the level of statewide and international policy. This must be achieved as quickly as possible. Signals from the future—ozone holes—are calling upon mankind to join forces and solve other ecological problems as well.

Ukrainian Message to UN on Environment

LD1505195189 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] New York May 15 TASS—A continued deterioration of the ecological situation is assuming truly critical proportions and becoming one of the crucial international problems on a par with the prevention of a nuclear war, says a letter sent by the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] to the United Nations in connection with the holding in 1992 of a world conference on ecology.

The Ukraine proposes that the conference concentrate on such issues as elaboration of a global strategy for preserving the Earth's climate, warning about the threats to environment, provision of prompt ecological assistance, and establishment of an international ecological trust fund whose resources would be replenished, among other things, through cuts in arms spending.

Disruptions in natural environment and ecological disasters are transboundary in character and undoing their consequences requires collective and concerted efforts by all states, the letter says. It is for this reason that the ecological subject area ought to become a priority area in the activities of the U.N. family.

UNEP Session on Ecology Balance Held in Nairobi

LD1605194189 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Nairobi May 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Gerasimov:

Problems of protecting the environment, maintaining ecological balance, and boosting international cooperation in these areas are on the agenda of the 15th session of the U.N. Environmental Programme (UNEP) board of governors opened in Nairobi on Monday. Representatives of over 90 states and several international organisations attend the session.

Mankind is worried that our children will inherit the increasingly exhausted planet, Mostafa Tolba, UNEP executive director, said in his opening address to the session.

This concern is shared by people across the world irrespective of their political, religious and racial persuasions. Many governments do not take actions which the world public expects from them, he noted. Developing countries, in part, do not have funds for environmental protection.

Definite measures to protect the environment have already been taken, Tolba noted. Joint documents to protect the ozone layer and control trade in hazardous waste have been developed, in part. The UNEP's main efforts should be concentrated on such priority directions as the changing of climate, the pollution of the atmosphere and the world ocean, and soil erosion.

Tolba urged the participants in the meeting to carry out work to prepare for a United Nations conference on the environment and development due to open in 1992. He drew attention to the need to increase the budget of the UNEP ecological fund from this year's 40 million dollars to 100 million in 1992.

Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi turned attention to the relationship of the ecological, military-political and social problems. He said hundreds of billions of dollars are spent on armaments when there is a shortage of funds to protect the environment. The dying of tropical forests, which are the lungs of the globe, and the environmental pollution cause the depletion of the ozone shield and spark climatic changes within the scope of the planet. Man should not perish like dinaosaur which became extinct millions of years ago, he said.

P.I. Poletayev, head of the Soviet delegation and first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for nature Conservation, spoke about the need to create an international ecological fund primarily on the funds freed as a result of arresting the arms race.

He favoured the holding of regular unofficial consultations involving representatives of nature conservation and diplomatic agencies. He proposed setting up an emergency ecological aid centre and an international space laboratory or a manned orbital station to monitor the state of the environment.

The Soviet representative underscored the importance of convening a top-level international conference in 1992 to consider pivotal ecological problems and the experience in handling them. This conference should map out guidelines in nature conservation policy and approve a peculiar code of states' ecological conduct.

The delegations of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian and Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republics advocate at the session the consideration of the problem of mankind's

stable and ecologically safe development and preserving the environment in the context of establishing a comprehensive security system to comprise the socio-economic, military-political and humanitarian aspects.

International Human Rights Conference Held in Moscow

Conference Opens 15 May

LD1505180289 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—The Third International Conference on Human Rights organised jointly by the Soviet jurists association and the international commission of jurists opened in the Soviet capital on Monday.

The aim of this meeting is to discuss changes now made in the legislations of various countries, in the East and the West, in conditions of the improvement of the international situation, USSR Prosecutor-General Aleksandr Sukharev, president of the soviet Lawyers Association, said in his speech. New thinking spread to most countries. It is also reaching the area of jurisprudence. "We wish to familiarise our foreign colleagues with changes in the Soviet legislation and to hear their opinion of the processes taking place in their countries", Sukharev said.

Sukharev is of the opinion that a process of the revision of Soviet legislation started in the framework of democratic transformations now taking place in the USSR. When drafting new laws, Soviet jurists thoroughly study legislative codes of other countries, appropriate international legal acts and are striving to draw on what is the best in them

William Butler, president of the International Commission of Jursists, said that members of the Commission follow with much attention the perestroika processes in the USSR, the consolidation of legal guarantees for Soviet people. He said that new thinking the initiative for which had been made by the USSR should promote the consolidation of ties and contacts among jurists from different countries.

The conference which is to last four days has on its agenda debates on such themes as the right of peoples to peace and to development, perestroika in the USSR and human rights, independence of judges and lawyers, reform of criminal legislation, the Vienna meeting of states-participants in the Helsinki process and correlation betwen the international agreement and domestic laws in the area of human rights. Foreign participants in the meeting will visit the Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, one of corrective labour colonies, and will have a conversation with leaders of the Russian Federation's Ministry of Justice.

Jurist Comments on Human Rights

LD1605210789 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agarbekov:

Lawyers, judges and prosecutors and scholars again met today in Moscow's Friendship House to continue discussion of human rights in different countries. The international conference was convened at the initiative of the Soviet Association of Jurists in conjunction with the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ).

"We have long-established links with the ICJ through the Association of Soviet Jurists", Association Vice-President Igor Karpetsa, director of the Soviet research institute of problems of strengthening law and order, told TASS. "Your links have not always been as they are now. At first, our approaches to human rights issue differed considerably. The ICJ failed to understand the essential features of the Soviet legal system. But we kept searching for ways towards mutual understanding".

"We consider the ICJ to be a major international organization of jurists, including prominent Western lawyers. The organization enjoys great authority with jurists across the world and we believe that in conditions of new political thinking we must consolidate our links with organizations like that one", Karpetsa said.

"The present gathering is not the first one at which we discuss in detail problems of interest to us. The problem of human rights used to be a stumbling block. It was on this count that the International Commission of Jurists subjected us to most stringent criticisin. That stage is in the past now. New steps made in our country to expand human rights (now we do not eschew any of the issues arising in the field) have resulted in perfecting our legal system. At the same time, we consider that many aspects of this problem are treated to advantage in the Soviet Union. Our foreign colleagues also understand and appraise the fact", Karpetsa said in conclusion.

Conference Ends 18 May

LD1905081989 Moscow TASS in English 2131 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

The third four-day international conference on human rights ended here today. It was held by the Soviet Lawyers' Association jointly with International Commission of Jurists.

Protection of human rights globally was discussed by public prosecutors, attorneys and jurists from the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, Finland, Sweden, France, socialist and other countries.

The conference discussed such topics as "the right to peace and the right to development", "Soviet perestroika and human rights", "independence of judges and lawyers", "Soviet criminal legislation reform", "the Vienna meeting of the states, parties to the Helsinki process and correlation between the international treaty and the domestic law in the sphere of human rights".

The participants in the meeting agreed that such conferences, held on a regular basis, will give jurists a possibility to know better the state of affairs in the sphere of human rights in different countries.

The conference considered a broad range of questions, Igor Karpetsa, director of the all-union scientific research institute of problems of consolidation of legality and law and order, told TASS. These questions were associated with everything linked with the recent Vienna meeting, human rights in their classical form, and also peoples' right to development. This is an acute problem and it attracts the interest of both Soviet specialists at a new perestroika stage, and our Western colleagues.

During the stay in Moscow the foreign guests, among them William Butler, president of the International Commission of Jurists, visited the Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, conversed with senior officials of the Russian Federation's Ministry of Justice and visited a corrective-labour colony.

USSR Should Accept Rights Conventions

PM1505111589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Candidate of Juridical Sciences G.M. Melkov by M. Kozhevnikov under the rubric "On the Question of Human Rights": "An Important Step, But Only the First"—date and place of interview not given; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Conventions on preventing crimes of genocide, on women's political rights, on the fight against slavery, and on eliminating all forms of racial discrimination... Until recently these and some other international documents were adopted by our country with reservations concerning nonrecognition of the mandatory jurisdiction of the UN International Court of Justice [ICJ]. In other words, the Soviet Union has been against the examination of relevant disputes by that court.

M.S. Gorbachev's 7 December 1988 UN speech gave voice to the idea that all states should recognize mandatory ICJ jurisdiction in the interpretation and application of agreements in the human rights sphere. The Soviet Union recently took an important step in that direction: By a decree dated 10 February 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the decision to remove reservations on a number of conventions (IZVESTIYA No 69).

What remains to be done in the interests of strengthening international law and order and making more active use of the ICJ's potential? Our correspondent put this question to Candidate of Juridical Sciences G.M. Melkov, a specialist in international law.

[Melkov] The Soviet recognition of mandatory ICJ jurisdiction and the removal of reservations on six conventions really is an important measure directed at strengthening the primacy of international law. But this is only a first step. Other reservations the need for which is, in my view, very dubious are still in operation. For example, the reservation on Article 20 of the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman Forms of Treatment or Punishment Which Degrade Dignity. This is what it says: "The USSR does not recognize the competence of the Committee Against Torture established under Article 20 of the Convention."

What is the reason for this reservation? For an explanation let us go back to Article 20 of the said convention. In particular, it says that if the Committee Against Torture obtains trustworthy information which, in its opinion, contains fully substantiated data about the systematic use of torture on the territory of a particular state signatory to the convention, then it can: Propose that the state cooperate with it in examining this information and comment on the information obtained; and, taking these comments into account, send one or several representatives to make a confidential investigation, including visiting the state's territory, and informing the committee of the results of the investigation.

Presumably it was precisely the formula "visiting the territory and carrying out an investigation" which was the reason for the appropriate reservation in ratifying this convention in 1987. On the other hand, let us recall the commitments undertaken by the Soviet Union as regards observing the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which also envisages the most rigorous on-site inspection—incidentally, without even the right of refusal. So is it worthwhile to carry on "making reservations" regarding the right of representatives of one of the international organs, in this case the Committee Against Torture, to visit our country?

Or, for example, reservations regarding Article 10 of the first three 1949 Geneva Conventions on the Protection of War Victims (the wounded, the sick, shipwrecked people, and prisoners of war) and Article 11 of the Convention on Protecting the Civilian Population During Wartime. "The USSR will not recognize as legal a request by a state which has wounded or sick people or health personnel ('protected persons' under Article 11—Editor's note) in its power to a neutral state or humanitarian organization to undertake the function being fulfilled by the protector-state, unless the country whose citizens the protected persons are consents to this"—this is how the reservations are formulated.

What is the result? Is it better for the wounded and the sick, for prisoners of war, and for the civilian population of an occupied territory to be in enemy hands, threatened with annihilation, than for them to be handed over to a neutral state or humanitarian organization, for example, the International Red Cross Committee? Of course the care of these persons has to be paid for. But should we really save money on human lives?

[Kozhevnikov] In a letter published by IZVESTIYA (No 69) from the USSR foreign minister to UN General Secretary J. Perez de Cuellar, it was deemed important to further develop states' cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. What contribution, in your opinion, can our country make to the general cause of defending human rights?

[Melkov] I think that first and foremost we should ratify the Optional Protocol to the 1966 Pact on Civil and Political Rights, which contains a mechanism for the defense of human rights by the Human Rights Committee. Under the protocol that committee is authorized to examine individual complaints from citizens of the protocol's participant states about breaches of their political and civil rights, provided that all existing means within the state for legal protection of the rights that have been violated have been exhausted, or when that protection is delayed for an unwarranted period. Can our state really not adopt this mechanism?

It is also essential to ratify Protocols I and II of the 1949 Conventions on the Protection of War Victims, which were signed in 1977. They significantly develop and supplement the provisions of the conventions mentioned and help to introduce more humane norms to international law. Any warring sides, and even those which do not recognize each other as belligerents, must observe these norms. Precisely such a situation developed originally in Afghanistan, when we refused to recognize the armed Afghan opposition as a belligerent. In turn that opposition refused to conduct dialogue with the Soviet side on returning our prisoners of war.

In my view, particular attention must be given to adhering to the many International Labor Organization conventions as quickly as possible. Out of 168 International Labor Organization conventions by 1 January 1989 the USSR had ratified only 46 (for comparison: Spain ratified 116 conventions, France—110, Cuba—86, and Bulgaria—80). For example, we have still not ratified such documents as the 1957 Convention No 105 on Abolishing forced Labor, and the 1970 Convention No 132 on Paid Leave (according to it, annual leave must total not less than 3 working weeks). Or, for example, the 1967 Convention No 127 on the Maximum Weight That a Working Person Is Allowed To Carry. This has still not been ratified either. This is probably why we still see women moving railroad ties and rails and laying asphalt...

[Kozhevnikov] What is the problem? Why don't we ratify the International Labor Organization conventions?

[Melkov] The process of gradual ratification is under way, but it is moving extremely slowly. In 10 years, from 1970 through 1979, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems [Goskomtrud] prepared only three conventions for ratification, and in the last 9 years it has prepared another three. If we keep going on at this snail's pace, it will take Goskomtrud... almost 400 years to prepare the remaining conventions for ratification (and the International Labor Organization adopts two or three new ones every year).

If we really want to build a rule-of-law state and live in a rule-of-law community of states, then the pace must be increased by at least a factor of 10. We are obligated to become participants in the largest possible number of international conventions and treaties which regulate and protect the rights and freedoms of every person, every individual. The most effective norms in this sphere, which have been won by working people as a result of prolonged and persistent struggle, must be taken from foreign states.

As our recently adopted party documents stress, it is not enough to proclaim a person's rights and freedoms and enshrine them in laws. Material backup for these rights and freedoms needs to be secured, and legal guarantees need to be elaborated for the strict fulfillment of the laws by all members of society regardless of the post they occupy or their social position. A rule-of-law state can only be built with this approach to people's basic rights and freedoms and their effective protection, because the very concept of the rule-of-law state means the supremacy (primacy) of the law, which is equally compulsory for all citizens, the primacy of international law over internal statutes, and the supremacy of common human values over everything else.

UN Trusteeship Council Opens Session in New York

LD1505231289 Moscow TASS in English 2237 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] New York May 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

The United Nations trusteeship council opened its 56th session at the U.N. headquarters Monday. It will discuss an annual report of the United States (the administering country) on the situation in the trust territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia), and a report on an inspection mission to Palau.

Under the U.N. Charter, the mission includes delegations from the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France and for the first time China.

The Pacific Islands are the last trust territory of the United Nations. A working document, prepared by the U.N. secretariat for session delegates and submitted to them, said that this trust territory in the west Pacific includes three archipelagoes: the Marshalls, Carolines and Marianas.

They include a total of more than 2,100 islands and atolls with an area of about 1,854 square kilometres, scattered in the ocean over a vast area of 7.8 million square kilometres. Their population totals 168,431.

The situation in Micronesia is evoking a growing concern of the international community. The use of Micronesia by Washington in the interests of the 'neoglobalism' policy, its militarisation, and plans to deploy nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation there pose a serious threat to countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

The United States is dividing and absorbing this U.N. trust territory using as a cover all kinds of 'agreements' which have nothing to do with the U.N. Charter of the declaration on decolonisation.

Already the first address by the U.S. delegation to the session reflected the United States' desire to actually annex the U.N. trust territory of Micronesia.

U.S. deputy ambassador at the United Nations, Patricia Byrne, described as a healthy political and economic development of events the frank arms-twisting policy by the administering country toward the atoll's population, aimed at imposing a 'free association compact' on it. The goal of this compact is to make Palau forever the Pentagon's domain.

Arbatov Addresses Soviet UN Association Session

LD1605193189 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—The idea to create a pool of highly-qualified United nations propagandists ran through a report delivered today at the opening of a conference of the Soviet U.N. association by its chairman Academician Georgiy Arbatov.

Speaking about the association's activity over the past five years, he underscored the influence of new political thinking, which has been asserted in the Soviet Union's foreign policy, on changing the approach to the United Nations. He cited the examples of real changes in the association's activity over the past period.

Among them launching research into international law problems by the association's staffers, making the first television film on the United Nations' problems, involving members of the association's youth Commission in imitation sessions of the U.N. Security Council, and others.

The report pointed out that at the present stage it was necessary above all to step up the association's work inside the country. This thought was reflected also in the draft new statutes which is to be adopted by the participants in the conference.

An important reserve in boosting the soviet U.N. Association's activity is in increasing cooperation witdh similar organisations in other countries. Arbatov told TASS that the delegation of the Chines U.N. Association visited the USSR last year. The Soviet delegation will pay a similar visit to China next Autumn. The two associations' cooperation will be an important part of an extensive bilateral political dialogue to which the current Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will provide a fresh impetus.

The conference will end on Wednesday.

PRAVDA Reports Annual Meeting

PM1805120189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[A. Lopukhin report: "The United Nations' Important Role"]

[Text] Participants in the Soviet UN Association conference that closed yesterday in Moscow adopted a resolution expressing their readiness to devote efforts to consolidating the prestige of the United Nations, ensuring closer cooperation between the United Nations and the Soviet and world public, and implementing the idea of cocreativity and codevelopment for all states and peoples.

The conference participants discussed concrete proposals to step up Soviet public efforts in the sphere of "people's diplomacy" with a view to progressing toward a more secure and more just world without war and violence. For instance, "people's diplomats" could not only help strengthen friendship and trust between peoples but also take an active part in the processes of verifying the fulfillment of UN resolutions and international commitments adopted to secure a political settlement to conflict situations in the world, and in resolving humanitarian and environmental problems.

Academician G.A. Arbatov was once again elected chairman of the Soviet UN Association. The conference participants sent an appeal to the UN secretary general expressing confidence that the United Nations will reveal its constructive potential even more fully in the struggle for peace, security, progress, and prosperity for mankind.

United States & Canada

Further on U.S.-Soviet Trade Council Meeting

PM1805153189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "USSR-United States: In Favor of Joint Business"]

[Text] Washington—The conference hall of the Hilton Hotel in the McLean suburb of the U.S. capital was packed. The routine annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC] was the 12th since its creation—several hundred business people from both countries had assembled.

The state of mutually advantageous trade and ways to develop it, and the new form of cooperation—joint ventures—were being discussed. Leaders of a number of Soviet ministries and directors of enterprises and cooperatives which have entered the foreign market were among those participating in the meeting. On the U.S. side there were corporation heads and leading officials. The following spoke: R. Mosbacher, U.S. secretary of commerce; R. Dole, leader of the Republican Party in the Senate of the U.S. Congress; Yu.V. Dubinin, Soviet ambassador to the United States; V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium, who is leading ASTEC on the Soviet side; and D. Andreas, head of the Archer Daniels Midland [ADM] corporation, who heads the U.S. side.

"Restructuring in the USSR is opening up broad horizons of foreign economic ties. This is the path of the Soviet economy's integration into the system of the international division of labor," V.L. Malkevich said. "Our country is converging with GATT and other international economic organizations. Foreign trade is being decentralized. Now 2,000 Soviet enterprises have the right to enter the foreign market, another 2,000-3,000 have put in applications. Firms with Soviet and foreign capital have emerged, including those which are introducing developments by Soviet scientists. The question of setting up special economic zones with preferential terms for foreign investments is being examined."

According to the Soviet representative's assessment, prospects for developing economic ties between the USSR and other countries, including the United States, are considerable. But there are also difficulties. On our side there is sluggishness in conducting business, a leftover from the "prerestructuring period." On our partners' side there are artifical barriers and survivals from confrontational times.

D. Andreas, the U.S. partner in the ASTEC leadership, agrees with V.L. Malkevich's opinion.

"It is time," he believes, "to eliminate the obstacles in the path of successfully developing mutually advantageous ties, including the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which deprives the USSR of most-favored-nation status, and also the question of technology export restrictions."

Both our countries have spent enormous resources on unproductive goals connected with the arms race. It is time to switch our attention to mutually advantageous cooperation, and to overcome isolationism.

In D. Andreas' words, U.S. business is demonstrating growing interest in trade and business ties with the Soviet Union. Testimony of this is a major agreement concluded with a number of Soviet ministries by a consortium of the largest U.S. corporations, including ADM.

During a recess between council sessions there was a ceremony to sign agreements and contracts. An accord has been reached on holding a U.S. National Trade Fair in Moscow this fall. The Soviet "Biogen" science-and-production association has concluded an agreement with a number of U.S. firms on cooperation in the biotechnology sphere, the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry has come to an agreement with a U.S. firm on joint actions to select partners for joint business ventures. The Pepsi-Cola corporation and the Soviet "Soyuzplodoimport" have decided to open another two plants in the USSR to produce cold drinks.

A joint consortium has been set up to produce medicines and medical equipment in the USSR. Those participating in signing the protocol on its creation noted the prospects for the joint venture. In the USSR a substantial increase in appropriations for public health purposes is being planned for a considerable period through the year 2000.

R. Mosbacher, U.S. secretary of commerce, who addressed the assembly participants, gave assurances that the present administration will strive to develop Soviet-U.S. trade and economic ties. In his opinion they lag considerably behind their potential. President Bush intends jointly with Congress to seek to abrogate the action of the restrictive provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

Nonetheless, what are the prospects for abolishing the discriminatory restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union?—IZVESTIYA's correspondent put this question to D. Andreas, cochairman of ASTEC, and D. Kendall, his predecessor in this post. Both believe that the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment have lost their purpose. "I believe that the President must keep his word. Sentiments in favor of developing trade are also growing in Congress. And you've already heard the businessmen's opinion—they want to use all existing opportunities to do deals with Soviet partners," D. Andreas stated.

Paper Outlines Intelligence Community Functions

PM1205141789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel V. Doronin: "Restructuring, Glasnost and... Espionage"]

[Text] The ardent passion evinced by Daniel van Gandi [name as published], aide to the U.S. military attache, for photographing industrial landscapes in certain areas did not meet with understanding from the Soviet authorities. The lieutenant colonel was instructed to leave the USSR and arrange his "amateur photograph collection" at home. This event, already a thing of the past, nevertheless gives us an excuse to ponder certain cases.

They illustrate above all that, continuing to consider the USSR the main potential adversary of the United States and its allies, certain U.S. circles take various steps to actively study and analyze the internal political processes taking place in the USSR and seek ways to possibly influence their development. U.S. intelligence services have been given the task of determining the direction and degree of influence of the restructuring in Soviet society on the country's military and economic potential. Moreover, intelligence should rule out the surprise factor, which the White House finds unacceptable, when the Soviet Government presents new foreign policy initiatives requiring Washington to take corresponding appropriate measures to confirm its commitment to the development of the bilateral arms reduction process.

In this connection I must say that a true Renaissance era came about for the 200,000 or so specialists from the dozen intelligence services under the various federal ministries and departments during Reagan's rule. The Reagan administration had an understanding attitude to the intelligence service's aspirations and requirements and increased spending on it over the last 8 years by almost 150 percent. According to U.S. observers' most modest calculations, overall U.S. annual spending on the intelligence service amounts to $25-27 billion at present.

Since the new president G. Bush was once director of the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] and is well-acquainted with the capacities of the entire intelligence community, the special services' role in Washington life is continuing to grow. This is illustrated by his choice of leading U.S. intelligence service personnel for key posts in the new administration. Intelligence veteran Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, for instance, has become the president's national security adviser (he is head of the National Security Council apparatus) and Robert Gates, former CIA deputy director of central intelligence, has been appointed his first deputy. Specialists who have also made a career in intelligence have also been appointed heads of a number of regional and functional groups and departments. The National Security Council, originally set up as a supreme consultative body under the U.S. President, has recently become a directive body; it plays an ever-increasing role in forming Washington's foreign and military policy.

The world has long been accustomed to associate the CIA with Washington's vilest political acts. This organization officially constitutes the main U.S. strategic intelligence organ. Under the 1947 law on national security it is part of the U.S. presidential executive and operates directly in the interests of the National Security Council.

The CIA, which in-house its staffers often call "the company," has concentrated its main efforts on gathering military-political, economic, scientific-technical, and social information. Moreover, the "company" is traditionally involved in sabotage and subversion, which have won it scandalous renown, and coordinates the activity of numerous intelligence services under its jurisdiction and counterintelligence programs outside the United States. The "company" headquarters in a Washington suburb has at its disposal a mass of facilities on U.S. territory and a multitude of stations and backup centers abroad. According to the Western press, the CIA permanent staff numbers 18,000 people. According to their estimates and counting experts working on private contracts, the overall number of highly specialized operational CIA specialists has reached 40,000

The U.S. press misses no chance of vilifying any "blunders" made by CIA operational services in the course of their interference in other countries' internal affairs. However, the press does not usually mention that the "company" and all its services constitute only the tip of the huge U.S. intelligence community iceberg.

Up to 85 percent of its forces and funds are located within the Defense Departments's intelligence organs. Military intelligence traditionally forms the basis of the U.S. intelligence community. It performs all its activity under the leadership of the DIA [Defense Intelligence Agency], which was set up in 1961. According to U.S. experts' suppositions, the DIA's staff numbers approximately 6,000 specialists, of whom approximately 1,000 work for military attaches abroad. The DIA leadership collaborates closely with the other federal intelligence services, particularly the CIA.

The so-called "giant ear of America"—the ultra-secret NSA [National Security Agency]—enjoys special rights within the U.S. Defense Department and is directly subordinate to the defense secretary. A staffer can be put behind bars just for mentioning his involvement with the department in question outside. NSA staffers (promising mathematicians from U.S. universities are selected for it) are engaged in the extremely interesting work—although it requires huge amounts of patience—of intercepting and deciphering foreign states' codes, including those of our allies. Former Secretary of State Henry Simpson's immortal words "gentlemen don't read other people's mail" can serve as merely the light-hearted

motto of an agency that also controls all U.S. radio and radiotechnical intelligence. The overall number of NSA staffers alone exceeds 20,000 and the annual budget, according to foreign estimates, has attained the impressive sum of $15 billion.

With the start of man's conquest of space in 1961 another top-secret military intelligence department, the National Aeronautics and Space Intelligence Agency, was born and attained legal status in the United States. Its practical activity began with the implementation of the programs for U-2 flights begun by the CIA.

All branches of the U.S. Armed Forces also have their own intelligence services engaged in gathering and processing information on their probable enemy at a strategic and operational level. For instance, the U.S. Air Force Intelligence Agency alone numbers more than 2,000 people.

The DIA leadership is hurrying to exploit the reform policy in the Soviet Union to organize more effectively the most valuable—in Pentagon terms—information-gathering. At the agency's prompting a special Senate intelligence commission recommended introducing the new post of assistant defense secretary for intelligence. Under conditions of the so-called "information explosion" in the USSR the DIA leadership is arranging its work to study the Soviet Army on the basis of material carried in our open press. The high degree of computerization of information processes enables a long-term individual count to be kept of every Soviet officer whose name has appeared in the press. DIA information service specialists are constantly preparing translations of the most informative articles from Soviet periodicals for further distribution to staffs and troops.

The Americans have always considered the passion for basic information-gathering coupled with a disregard for the processing of such information to be a mistake. Given the increased demand for processed information, the intelligence services have begun to devote increasing attention to bridging the gap between the ever-increasing information gathering and processing capacities and information analysis since the latter, despite the intensive development of the material base, slows down the whole work cycle. Mr Webster, the CIA director, even admitted publicly that U.S. intelligence's analytical service has difficulty digesting the flood of information on the 100-plus Soviet facilities subject to the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and predicted a quite disastrous position for U.S. analysts if an agreement on strategic offensive arms is concluded in the future. According to Webster, the U.S. intelligence service would have to monitor [kontrolirovat] 2,500 facilities throughout Soviet territory.

However, Mr Webster is laying it on somewhat thick with his complaints about the information-gathering service's work load. More than 3,500 highly qualified specialist analysts work by the sweat of their brow at the National Intelligence Information Center alone under the CIA director on reports for top political and military bodies prepared on the basis of data received from various departments. "Company" representatives alone annually make more than 1,000 reports to various Congressional commissions. DIA analysts prepare most of the reliable material on questions of military policy. There are 2,000 specialists directly involved in the DIA information service, of whom more than 600 consider, process, and analyze data on the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries. Moreover, the DIA uses up to 150 research centers, laboratories, and other establishments belonging to branches of the armed forces to carry out analytical work.

A joint report prepared by a consortium of experts late last year "On the Demands Made on the Intelligence Service in the 1990's" unanimously pointed out that extensive espionage directly on Soviet territory—with particular attention to the USSR Armed Forces—must be stepped up. The spy masters noted that the emphasis on automating the military-intelligence information gathering process, making broad use of all the National Security Council's funds and space intelligence capabilities, must be combined more extensively with use of the so-called "human factor."

U.S. specialists acknowledge that determining the position and identifying the movement of virtually any equipment on earth presents no particular difficulty with the use of technical systems. Thus they can find out this equipment's specifications. However, the most valuable information can only be obtained through direct human contact. That is why the hunt for potential "sources" is taking on particular significance for the U.S. intelligence service. It is only through human contacts that the level of personnel training and morale can be determined with sufficient accuracy and information obtained about promising new combat equipment models.

There are also plans to make more active use of the broadening of glasnost in the interests of intelligence. In particular, Americans note with surprise the so-called "excess of glasnost" in the course of certain conferences held in the USSR on individual topics attended by foreign specialists. It sounds quite ridiculous, but cases have indeed been noted of information obtained at such open conferences and meetings being immediately classified as secret on its arrival in the United States since it is secret in the United States itself. Experts admit that, "roused" by the presence of sometimes distinguished guests, the Russians do not even realize how useful their statements could be to an analytical specialist. It would be good to be constantly mindful of that.

U.S., USSR Sign Agreement on Sea Pollution

18070278 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by R. Ignatyev: "Urgent Aid to Seas"]

[Text] An agreement on cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in controlling pollution in the Chukotka and Bering Seas in emergencies has been signed.

Our correspondent approached the chief of the Directorate of Specialized State Maritime Service of the Ministry of Maritime Fleet, O. Khalimonov, with a request to comment on this document.

"Prospecting, development, and extraction of oil, as well as transportation of fuel and other dangerous substances by vessels, pose a serious threat of polluting the sea environment. Any ecological accident, even a small one, may bring about unforeseeable results. This is why the issue of organizing efficient measures aimed at preventing such phenomena and controlling pollution arose. As our experience shows, success in this matter may only be ensured through a joint effort of several countries.

By signing the agreement, the USSR and the United States undertake to render aid to each other in the event a discharge of oil or another dangerous substance from any source has occurred or is possible. Decisions on this are made in cases when the scope and nature of pollution call for an immediate response. As a rule, such accidents end up being major catastrophes and occasionally affect the interests of coastal states.

According to the procedures accepted, either party should join in the prevention of an accident in a timely manner. If an emergency has already occurred, it is necessary to take part in the work on restricting the spread of pollution and cleaning it up. In a word, everything needs to be done in order to eliminate the threat or minimize the harmful influence on live resources, sea flora and fauna, and on human health.

The main responsibility for fulfilling all obligations devolves on the Directorate of the Specialized State Service for the Cleanup of Oil and Refinery Product Spills at Sea of the USSR Ministry of Maritime Fleet on the Soviet side, and the U.S. Coast Guard on the American side.

By now, a joint emergency response plan in the event of pollution in the Bering and Chukotka Seas has been developed and adopted by both parties. It provides for the cooperation of our services, the sequence of all operations, and the responsibilities of the manager of the recovery operation. In the second half of June 1989, a port call in Leningrad by the U.S. ship Eagle is expected. A representative of the U.S. Coast Guard will arrive aboard. His will be one of the signatures on the plan. The "endorsement" by the Ministry of Maritime Fleet of the USSR will be the second.

In signing the agreement, the Soviet and U.S. sides assume many responsibilities. These include developing national systems for locating pollution and instantly reporting it, providing resources for eliminating the threat of an accident or cleaning up after one has occurred. Procedures have been set for reimbursing expenses for jointly conducted operations. The access of national means and resources necessary to combat pollution to the territorial waters of either country has been simplified.

The agreement refers only to the Chukotka and Bering Seas. However, the geography of our cooperation in controlling the pollution of the marine environment may be expanded. IZVESTIYA has already reported that the Soviet craft Vaydagubskiy is taking part in the cleanup of the greatest ecological catastrophe on the shores of Alaska. It is skimming the oil which spilled out of the Exxon Valdez supertanker following an accident. Unfortunately, such aid is not as effective as it could have been. After all, the productivity of our oil skimmer is limited, and it would have been more useful had we been notified of the catastrophe right away. The situation was under the control of the culprits in the event and the local authorities. By the time the U.S. Government became involved, the situation had deteriorated. The oil slick has spread and the polluted area has expanded several fold. In addition, the Americans did not approach us for help. According to the rules, we could only provide aid given a corresponding request. Now that the agreement has been signed, issues of this nature will be resolved quickly and in a timely manner.

Prospects for U.S.-Soviet 'Partnership' Viewed

18070634 Moscow TRUD in Russian
9 May 89 p 3

[Article by P. Vorobyev: "USSR-United States: Is A Partnership Possible?"]

[Text] Until fairly recently it would have been difficult to imagine such a question. Relations between the two great powers were so riddled with confrontation that many doubted that it would even be possible to change over to a basis of more or less normal dialogue. The task was to move back from the edge of the abyss. The prospects of fruitful interaction seemed quite remote.

Today one can state that by the beginning of this year the major "sore spots" remaining as a legacy from the period of aggravation of the international situation had been removed or alleviated. Medium-range rockets are being eliminated and on the agenda is the reduction of strategic and conventional arms and the prohibition of chemical warfare. Progress is being made in the regulation of a number of regional conflicts. The atmosphere has improved in bilateral relations between the USSR and the United States and the human rights problem is no longer a source of irritation in them.

But still one cannot but admit that the solution to these most crucial problems only creates prerequisites for building a foundation for stable international relations over the long-range future. This is a difficult problem and only the entire international community is capable of resolving it; it requires the efforts of all countries—

large, small, and medium-sized. But it is clear that it cannot be resolved without the partnership of such powers as the Soviet Union and the United States.

Frequently one hears objections to the overemphasis on the role and responsibility of the USSR and the United States in world affairs. Sometimes this is seen as the "super-power approach." It seems that we should pay attention to doubts of this kind and not push them aside. It should be recognized that in our day no two powers are capable—either individually or together—of imposing on other countries their solutions to the increasingly diverse and difficult problems of the world community.

Nonetheless one can give many examples of how Soviet-American interaction has helped to alleviate the severity of conflicts, and the lack of this kind of interaction or, even more, open conflict of positions regarding one issue or another have led to prolonged antagonism with serious consequences for many. It is possible to avoid a repetition of occurrences like this only on the basis of interaction and partnership between the USSR and the United States.

The last change of the American administration took place when through the efforts of both countries the necessary conditions had been created for fairly rapid joint progress. In December of last year at a meeting of the leaders of the USSR and the United States with the participation of the then newly elected president the principle of continuity was established, i.e. the further development of the positive processes in Soviet-American relations.

Subsequently, however, it turned out that it would not be possible to make a "quick start." The new administration announced the need to conduct a careful analysis of the priorities of its foreign and military policy and to determine its own line regarding the most important problems. In principle this desire is quite natural, and Moscow reacted to it with understanding. It must be assumed that this reaction was properly valued in Washington.

But still no pause in concrete affairs should last too long. And here is what is remarkable: it was not we but the friends and allies of the United States who began to show impatience and even irritation regarding this. Puzzled questions regarding this have been asked recently in the United States itself: Is Washington prepared to respond to "Gorbachev's challenge," to the dynamic foreign policy of the Soviet Union which is increasingly eating away at confrontational approaches in international and debunking old arguments about the "Soviet threat"?

Unfortunately, one sometimes gets the impression that instead of a creative answer that corresponds to the new tendencies in world development, in Washington there is still a great temptation to resort to old propagandistic and power methods. The instinct for confrontation sometimes starts working before weighed evaluations can be put forth. Is this not why during the period of the "pause" willed by the American side officials in the administration sometimes made statements of a clearly nonconstructive nature? Perhaps they were intended more for domestic consumption, for those who demand that the administration be "tough with the Russians"? Possibly. But Washington should probably recognize that against the background of the administration's slowness in renewing the dialogue, certain questions might arise on the Soviet side.

For example, how does one reconcile the assurances of a desire to protect the positive achievements of past years with the unjustified accusations against the USSR concerning the problem of Central America, the unwillingness to cooperate in the matter of stopping the bloodshed in Afghanistan, and the discussions of the need to limit USSR participation in Near Eastern affairs? How does one explain U.S. passivity in the multilateral negotiations being conducted in Geneva concerning the ban on chemical weapons—and this in spite of the declarations from President Bush about the priority of this problem? Finally, do attempts on the part of certain Washington officials to sow doubts about the viability of restructuring and the stability of the policies of the Soviet leadership contribute to the constructive development of Soviet-Americans?

I would not like to dramatize the situation. The appearance of problems like this in the practice of relations between such different countries as the USSR and the United States is generally something that can be explained. Under one condition: if we generally stay on course, and if the landmarks are determined.

I think that in spite of the difficulties that arise from time to time, a partnership between our countries can and should be such a landmark. It would be extremely short-sighted to refrain from it out of considerations of immediate unilateral advantage. It would not be much better simply to continue the dialogue while retaining the old positions and openly refusing to understand the other side.

It would be worthwhile for the American side to look at how restructuring in the USSR is exerting an ever greater influence not only on our foreign political practice but also on the very foundations for the formation of foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It is becoming the subject of candid and public discussion and is no longer a "zone beyond criticism." The USSR Supreme Soviet will create a constitutionally authorized mechanism for discussing and resolving foreign political problems. Public opinion is firmly in favor of the future elimination of all mistake and omissions like those that were made at one time in Afghan affairs.

The factor of public opinion and democratization of our foreign policy will undoubtedly work to give more dynamism to our relations with the United States. Including as a result of new initiatives and actions on our part. We

are still not taking advantage of all opportunities. In this connection I should like especially to single out the sphere of trade and economics. While calling for the United States to abolish discriminatory restrictions and revise the KOKOM [Committee of Coordination of Exports of Strategic Goods from NATO Countries] conditions, we must not forget that a very great deal depends on us ourselves. This pertains to the need to modernize our economic mechanisms.

On the whole the changes that are taking place in our country make it possible for us to expect that our policies will become increasingly predictable and comprehensible to other countries.

U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker will be in Moscow the next few days for negotiations with the Soviet leadership. Judging from reports in the American press, he will have with him the results of the "strategic survey" conducted by the administration and should be prepared for serious discussion of all the points on the Soviet-American agenda. A great deal is expected from the forthcoming contacts between the USSR and the United States on a political level.

People are expecting that we shall quite specifically approve the policy that has already given so much to our countries and the entire world. People are expecting a signal for the renewal of Soviet-American disarmament negotiations and contacts for the regulation of regional conflicts. People are expecting that prospects will open up for the arrangement of cooperation in such concrete, practically important areas as trade and economic ties. People are expecting that a step will be taken toward partnership.

Kamentsev Receives Canadian Business Delegation

PM1705125789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Mutual Interests"]

[Text] V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received a group of leaders of large Canadian companies headed by A. Rakeman, president of Olympia and York Developments.

They examined specific questions of business cooperation between Canadian companies and Soviet organizations in creating joint enterprises on Soviet territory in various spheres. They also discussed other possible forms of such cooperation in the interests of further developing mutually beneficial Soviet-Canadian trade and economic ties.

China

Gorbachev Concludes Summit Visit to PRC

Beijing Farewell Ceremony Reported

LD1905082689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian in its "Vremya" newscast at 1430 GMT on 18 May broadcasts a 5-and-1/2-minute recorded report on PRC President Yang Shangkun's official farewell to Mikhail Gorbachev at the end of the latter's visit to Beijing. The "Vremya" anchorman introduces the report, saying: "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official visit to the PRC is coming to an end. Today saw the official ceremony at which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said farewell to PRC Chairman [Predsedatel] Yang Shangkun."

A video report on the ceremony by an unidentified correspondent then begins: "Today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said goodbye to Beijing." Gorbachev, followed by his interpreter and by Raisa is then seen coming into a large room. He shakes hands with Yang Shangkun, then stands aside so Yang can greet Raisa. The correspondent then resumes his narrative, saying: "Comrade Yang Shangkun, chairman of the PRC, came to see Mikhail Sergeyevich off." The two leaders are then seen exchanging remarks. The correspondent continues: "The official ceremony took place at the Diaoyutai guesthouse." Gorbachev is then heard to say to Yang: "Let us say hello to your comrades." Gorbachev then moves across the room to shake hands with unidentified officials.

The video report then cuts to show Gorbachev and Yang sitting at a table with other officials, among whom Shevardnadze is identifiable, while photographers take pictures. Through his interpreter, Yang says: "This is our first meeting, so at this meeting we must talk about the main topics. Afterward, it will be easier for us to do business." At one point, Gorbachev is heard to thank Yang for something, to which Yang replies: "Don't mention it." The correspondent continues: "The conversation prior to parting is the official ceremony for seeing off the distinguished guest." Yang is then heard to say: "Yes, and you came at my invitation." The correspondent then says: "The parting was warm, exceeding the requirements of protocol." Gorbachev is then heard to remark to Yang: "Comrade Maslyukov was saying to me after..." The remainder of this remark is unheard. Gorbachev is then heard to say: "Yesterday, they continued the conversation in specific detail on questions of economic cooperation."

At this point, the soundtrack of the report becomes very confused, with speakers and interpreters talking at the same time. Yang shows Gorbachev a book of photographs while the correspondent explains that presenting guests with a book of photographs recording their stay is a tradition in China. As Yang leafs through the album,

Gorbachev remarks: "We do, at least, look better there than we really are, perhaps!" Gorbachev laughs while his remark is translated for Yang, who then joins in the laughter, along with Shevardnadze.

Gorbachev then says: "Yesterday, when I was talking briefly to your television, I was asked how I felt and what impressions I had formed. You know, the most interesting thing I have noticed is a feeling as though the last 30 years had not happened. I have become aware of this through my conversations with the leadership and my meetings with the Chinese people. It has been a good, friendly atmosphere."

The correspondent resumes: "The photographs in the album fix moments of life that have passed into history: the modest episodes in which the ties lost decades ago were restored and the threads severed during the hard times of the great disagreement were joined together again." Yang then takes up a pen while the correspondent notes that Yang has autographed the photo album. Gorbachev watches Yang and says: "That makes it all the more valuable." He pauses, then says: "Ah, thank you, thank you." He then shakes hands with Yang, saying: "That is a good souvenir. Thank you." Shevardnadze and Yakovlev look on while Gorbachev takes up a pen. The correspondent notes: "The guests also signed their names in the album." Raisa is then seen signing the book.

Gorbachev says to Yang: "Yesterday, on the Great Wall, we chatted to young people on two occasions. They were workers and students." Through his interpreter, Yang asks: "Did they receive you with just such a warm feeling?" Gorbachev replies: "Yes, splendid!" Both men laugh. Gorbachev adds: "Do you know what they said? (?I, well.) How glad we are! We are very glad that you came. Why did you leave it so long? Why not sooner?"

The correspondent sums up the report, saying: "All told, the conversation lasted 7 minutes." The meeting is then seen to break up as Gorbachev moves toward a large black car. The correspondent concludes: "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva, and the Soviet delegation are heading for the capital's Shoudu Airport," as the motorcade is seen pulling away from the guesthouse.

Gorbachev Travels to Shanghai

PM1905095989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Official Beijing Send-Off"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 May—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is paying an official visit to China at the invitation of PRC President Yang Shangkong, left Beijing for Shanghai today.

The send-off ceremony for M.S. Gorbachev and his escort took place in the "Diaoyutai" government residence for honored guests and was attended by Yang Shangkong.

M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to China, the PRC president said during the ceremony, saw the first meeting between our two countries' leaders in the last 30 years, at which we discussed important questions. We have made a start and I believe that everything will also go well in the future.

I am very glad, M.S. Gorbachev noted, that I have visited China. During the visit we have discussed important questions. Economic cooperation will now develop extensively, and work on this has already begun. The Soviet-Chinese joint communique, which will be published, is a very good document.

The motorcade went to Beijing airport.

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied on his trip to Shanghai by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Ye.I. Chazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR health minister.

Met by Shanghai Leaders, Qian Qichen

LD1805224289 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 18 May 89

[Excerpts] Beijing May 18 TASS—On Thursday morning, the fourth, final day of the official visit in the PRC, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Beijing for Shanghai.

The Soviet leader was seen off in a ceremony at Diaoyutai, the government residence for distinguished guests. [passage omitted]

At the Shanghai airport the Soviet leader was warmly welcomed on behalf of the working people of the city by Jiang Zemin, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and secretary of the Shanghai City Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Mayor of Shanghai Zhu Rongji, member of the Politburo and Deputy Premier of the State Council of the PRC Wu Xueqian, and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

At the Xijiao residence, there was a brief conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Qian Qichen. During the conversation, mutual satisfaction with complete normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations was expressed.

Mayor of the City Zhu Rongji gave a luncheon in honour of the Soviet leader. Welcoming Mikhail Gorbachev, Zhu Rongji expressed satisfaction that friendly relations and cooperation between Shanghai and the Soviet Union develop wider as relations between the PRC and the USSR improve.

The Soviet leader in his speech described the visit as the milestone which will have great positive effects not only for the two peoples and countries but also for the whole world. [passage omitted]

Exchanges Greetings With Jiang Zemin

LD1805211289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Jiang Zemin speaks in Mandarin, fading into superimposed Russian]

[Text] [Correspondent] Gorbachev arrived in Shanghai today. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the Soviet delegation were met at Shanghai Airport, which was bedecked with the state flags of the Soviet Union and the PRC, by Comrade Jiang Zemin, secretary of the Shanghai city party committee, and other city leaders. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa, followed by Shevardnadze and Yakovlev, descending gangway; Gorbachev then shown being greeted by a young girl amid a crowd of officials, after which he gets into car]

And now, the first conversation in Shanghai, a city twinned with our Leningrad. [video shows Gorbachev and Shevardnadze posing for photographs with Jiang Zemin and three other Chinese officials; then the same group sitting in armchairs for the following exchanges]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I have the impression that the weather is changing, is it not?

[Jiang] The weather is good today. It is typical of the weather in Shanghai this time of year. In my opinion, your visit here is already improving Shanghai's weather.

[Gorbachev] I especially like the fact that the Soviet-Chinese weather is improving.

[Jiang] I agree with you. Comrade Gorbachev, permit me, above all, on behalf of the party committee of the city of Shanghai, on behalf of the million Communists of the city of Shanghai...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] One million! [video shows Gorbachev raising one finger]

[Jiang] ...and also from all the inhabitants of the city of Shanghai, who number 12 million, to welcome you, Comrade General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. [end recording]

[video shows one shot of Soviet delegation left to right, with Chazov, Masiyukov, Yakovlev, and Shevardnadze seated immediately to the left of Gorbachev]

18 May Shanghai Activities Outlined

PM1905114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 Second Edition pp 1,2

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Friendship and Amicability"]

[Text] Shanghai, 18 May—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is paying an official visit to the PRC, has arrived in China's major industrial center, Shanghai.

This city is renowned for its traditions of anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle. It has long ties of friendship with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leader, his wife, and the members of the Soviet delegation were greeted warmly at the airport on behalf of the city's working people by the following: Jiang Zemin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Shanghai CPC City Committee; Zhu Rongji, mayor of Shanghai; Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and deputy premier of the PRC State Council; and Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister.

En route to the "Xijiao" residence, M.S. Gorbachev was warmly greeted by tens of thousands of Shanghai residents. The city's young citizens chanted "Welcome to Shanghai" in unison.

"Our city has waited many decades for this event," Shanghai Professor Ni Jiatai, told us. "Our countries should have done this a long time ago. At a time when reform is underway in our country, China, and in your country we need to study one another's useful experience and learn from one another's mistakes. We are convinced that the Soviet leader's visit will give a powerful boost to the development of our relations."

A brief conversation took place at the "Xijiao" residence with Jiang Zemin, during which mutual satisfaction was voiced in connection with the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Shanghai Mayor Zhu Rongji organized a luncheon today in M.S. Gorbachev's honor. Greeting the Soviet guests, Zhu Rongji said:

Shanghai is the economic, scientific-technical, and cultural center of our country. After China began to pursue the policy of broadening relations with foreign countries, our city developed and strengthened ties and cooperation with the outside world in the spheres of the economy, trade, and science and technology. Last year Shanghai's gross output totalled 61.2 billion Chinese yuan.

And our overall exports totalled $4.6 billion. Located on the western shore of the Pacific, Shanghai wants to organize ties with every region and every country of the world, to promote mutual understanding and strengthen friendship, joint prosperity, and development.

Friendly ties were established between Shanghai and the Soviet land long ago. We are delighted that, as relations between our countries have improved, cooperation between our city and the Soviet Union has developed increasingly broadly over the last few years. The USSR Consulate General has reopened in Shanghai, and Shanghai's commodity turnover with the Soviet Union is increasing every year. Shanghai and Leningrad have now become sister cities, and cooperation between the two cities is now broadening intensively in various spheres—the economy, trade, culture, education, and sports.

We, the people of Shanghai, feel great joy in connection with the normalization of Chinese-Soviet and CPC-CPSU relations, and we hope the Chinese-Soviet summit will facilitate the development of relations between our two countries and our two parties and reveal even better prospects for mutually advantageous cooperation between Shanghai and the Soviet Union.

Comrade Chairman! Your stay in Shanghai is a brief one. However, you have already sensed the cordiality and friendliness with which the residents of Shanghai have received you, your wife, and all the Soviet guests. I wish your visit to our city success.

I propose a toast to the normalization of CPSU-CPC and Chinese-Soviet relations, friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, the health of Chairman Gorbachev and his wife, and the health of our Soviet friends here!

M.S. Gorbachev delivered a speech in response:

On behalf of all my comrades who have accompanied me on this important visit to China, I would like to express my sincere delight at the chance to visit Shanghai, the PRC's largest city, which is renowned far and wide and figures prominently in the ranks of the world's leading industrial and cultural centers.

We have looked forward to our meeting with Shanghai with keen interest; we are only familiar with it from geographical reference books. Many pages of the Chinese working people's rich revolutionary past, the Chinese proletariat's first class struggles, and the birth of the CPC are linked with Shanghai.

Thank you, my friends, for our reception and the open amicable atmosphere of our meetings and conversations. We see this as a manifestation of the feelings of traditional friendship and profound respect that have existed from time immemorial between the peoples of our states. Stability and good-neighborliness between our countries accord not only with the aspirations and hopes of our two great peoples, but also with the interests of strengthening security in Asia and improving the entire world situation. That is why we can say that the Soviet delegation's visit to the PRC was a watershed that will have great positive consequences not only for our two countries and two peoples, but also for the whole world.

Esteemed Comrades! Some 4 years ago, adopting the course of restructuring all aspects of the life of Soviet society and renewing socialism, we reappraised a great deal of what was previously considered absolutely inviolable truth once and for all. Practical actions are now taking center stage. The restructuring policy is being tested in action.

During our short stay in China we have been able to see for ourselves the profound changes that have taken place within the PRC in its 40-year existence. I would like to wish the Chinese people new achievements on the path of reform in boosting their prosperity.

Our two countries have experiences to share, things to show one another. We hope our relations will now assume new dynamics. We are in favor of broadening our relations both at the party level and in state, cultural, and scientific terms. But we would especially welcome these ties involving cities, enterprises, labor collectives and families.

Shanghai and Leningrad are setting an example here, and we want theirs to be a good example to other Soviet and Chinese cities.

In these days we have seen for ourselves that it is not only the older generation of Chinese people who have preserved the feelings of friendship. China's young people have responded ardently to the normalization of Soviet-PRC relations. We hope the ties between Soviet and Chinese youth organizations and young men and women will also broaden and that they will confidently carry on the tradition of friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

I propose a toast to the people of Shanghai! To firm friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese peoples!

Then there was a brief familiarization tour of the city. The A.S. Pushkin monument was the first stop.

This monument has a surprising history. Built in 1937 with funds donated by Shanghai's population and Russians living here, the monument was destroyed by tbe occupiers during the national-liberation war against the Japanese militarists. The sculpture was restored in 1947 as a sign of the Chinese people's tremendous respect for the poet's great homeland. During the "Cultural Revolution" the monument was once again destroyed. A bronze figure of the Russian poet was recently put back

in its old spot once again. The monument was restored at the townspeople's request as a symbol of the traditional spiritual ties between our peoples.

The Soviet guest laid bouquets of flowers at the foot of the A.S. Pushkin monument.

Shanghai and its outlying cities play a leading role today in the PRC's industrial and agricultural production and domestic and foreign trade, and in developing its science, technology, culture, and education. As one of three cities—with Beijing and Tianjin—under central jurisdiction, the city produces 11-12 percent of the country's gross industrial output. It trades with 170 states and regions of the world. More than 50 higher educational establishments and more than 200 research establishments are concentrated here.

The "General Avenues of Shanghai's Economic Development Strategy" approved in February 1985 by the PRC State Council defined the role of this city for the Seventh 5-Year Plan in the overall program for the country's modernization as "one that has already embarked on the road of reform and is setting an example in implementation of the course of reform in the cities." In accordance with the 5-year plan for economic development, reform of the economic structure has been defined as the key task in the city's economic development.

Construction of the new Minghan technical and economic development area—a city specializing in the electrotechnical industry—has begun according to plan 30 km to the southwest of Shanghai in the outlying city of Minghan and its suburb of Hongjiao. This area accommodates more than 50 enterprises in this sector. The Soviet visitors visited a plant producing modern elevators and escalators. M.S. Gorbachev talked with workers and employees.

On the same day M.S. Gorbachev and the Soviet officials accompanying him left Shanghai for home. They were seen off at the airport by Jiang Zemin, Zhu Rongji, Wu Xueqian, Qian Qichen, and representatives of Shanghai's public.

Meets Shanghai Citizens

LD1805215589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made a short visit to Shanghai. At the monument to Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin, the great Russian poet, he conversed with city residents. [shouting, applause]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I also want to say that when we were thinking about the visit there were a lot of concerns. The visit has been successful. I congratulate both you and the Soviet people. When we were compiling the program I said it was essential that we travel to Shanghai. I knew before. [applause] I learned about Shanghai even before I knew about Beijing [laughter, applause] I do not think Beijing people will be offended by this. Great days have passed, major talks; everything is behind us and still before us. We feel that we will walk together, taking long steps. [applause] Thank you for the meeting and we will continue our journey. Maybe you would like to say something?

[Unidentified voice] We welcome you, Comrade Gorbachev.

[Gorbachev] Thank you, thank you.

[Second unidentified voice] We would like to see you again.

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Third unidentified voice] People will remember you.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. [end recording]

Visits Shanghai Region Plants

LD1805222489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; unidentified correspondent's report from Shanghai]

[Text] [Correspondent] In the afternoon Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the Minhan technical and economic development zone, where enterprises built with the aid of foreign capital are concentrated. At the zone's management offices a thorough and detailed discussion took place with the head of the zone. Mikhail Sergeyevich asked about matters of financing of the special zone, relations between the enterprises and the state, the way in which they pay their way, and their export opportunities. Last year, Minhang, which is located on just 2 square kilometers, exported output worth $15 million. [Video shows sign, which reads: "Shanghai Minhan United Development Co Ltd". Inside a conference room, Gorbachev and Raisa are shown seated among Chinese officials. An inscription in Russian above them reads, "Warm Greetings to Chairman M.S. Gorbachev." An inscription in Chinese characters is also shown. Shevardnadze and Gerasimov are shown among the Soviet officials seated in the room. Gorbachev is also shown speaking.]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Tell me, from the initial experience in your zone, has there not emerged a phenomenon which may be causing you concern: Does not the creation of the necessary infrastructure divert a large amount of resources from national potential? [end recording]

[Correspondent] When answers had been given to all the questions that interested Mikhail Sergeyevich, he was invited to one of the enterprises with mixed capital. [Video shows Gorbachev and entourage being shown

around a factory.] This is the Shanghai elevator escalator production company. It is a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise. It makes eight elevator models with several dozens sets of specifications. The elevators are considered reliable. It is said they almost never break down. In one of the shops Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stopped to talk with the workers. He asked how they were learning to use Japanese technology. He asked how they lived and how much they earned. The pay here is 50-100 percent higher than at ordinary Chinese enterprises, but is fully consonant with productivity, which has also doubled—and not just due to new technology. We have started to keep a check on good order and discipline ourselves, a shop worker said. Now everyone has seen that the more you work, the more money you'll earn, he noted. [Video shows Gorbachev speaking to workers. Gorbachev and entourage then shown leaving factory.]

After viewing the enterprise, the Soviet guests left for the airport.

Comments Before Leaving Shanghai

LD1805205889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 89

[Report over video on interview with Mikhail Gorbachev by unidentified Moscow television journalist in Beijing on 18 May; from the "Vremya" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the Soviet officials accompanying him left Shanghai for home today. Before departure, Comrade Gorbachev granted an interview to Soviet Television. [video shows Gorbachev, entourage bidding farewell to their hosts on the airport tarmac; Gorbachev then shown speaking into microphone held by reporter]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] It was a major visit, a major event. I'd call it a landmark event. I may be repeating myself, but I repeat myself deliberately. Great opportunities for cooperation in all areas are opening up. That is the first and most significant point. We are taking with us from China strong impressions from the point of view of attitudes to the Soviet Union, and to what has been happening over the last few days, on the part of the Chinese people. We encountered an atmosphere of friendship and hopes for cooperation. It was very nice for us to see that despite all the zig-zags of history—and it was not an easy history—people have nevertheless remained loyal to Soviet-Chinese friendship, and they have transmitted these sentiments to the younger generation, too, and that is a good thing.

We had a very short time here in Shanghai—just a few hours—but you could see for yourselves that the people of Shanghai virtually all came out into the streets, and because of that we were unable to keep to our program. It was completely wrecked, but wrecked in a good way, because we wanted to come into contact, if only briefly, with the people of Shanghai. Generally speaking, here, too, we encountered similar feelings. Thus, it was a brief visit, not a simple one from the point of view of intensiveness, from the point of view of work, but it ended successfully, and I want to congratulate the Soviet people on the fact that the expectations regarding Soviet-Chinese relations have, I hope, proved justified at this stage, and they can look toward a sure prospect of these relations with hope and confidence. [end recording] [video shows Raisa, standing next to Gorbachev, smiling and holding an umbrella]

[Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his entourage were seen off at the airport by Jiang Zemin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Shanghai City party committee; Zhu Rongji, mayor of Shanghai; Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the PRC State Council; Qian Qichen, Chinese foreign minister; and representatives of the Shanghai public. [video shows the Gorbachevs waving from the aircraft steps; Chinese leaders and others in the sendoff party waving farewell; final shot of aircraft taking off]

Arrives in Moscow; Met by Leaders

LD1805204289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1924 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 May (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, returned to Moscow today from China, where he was on an official visit at the invitation of PRC President Yang Shangkun.

Arriving together with M.S. Gorbachev were E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs; A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Ye.I. Chazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of health, who accompanied M.S. Gorbachev on his trip.

M.S. Gorbachev was met at the airport by members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, and V.M. Chebrikov; candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, G.P. Razumovskiy, and D.T. Yazov; Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee O.D. Baklanov; and other comrades.

Zhang Zhen, interim charge d'affaires of the PRC in the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

Comparison of USSR-PRC Joint Communique
PM1905082189

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 May publishes in its Second Edition on page 1 the Soviet-Chinese joint communique on the results of M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to China. The PRAVDA item, entitled "Soviet-Chinese Joint Communique," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 18 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 16-18, revealing the following variations:

page 16, column one, paragraph one, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: 1. At the invitation... (deleting first paragraph)

column two, paragraph five, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...and the PRC confirmed the statement of... (substituting "confirmed" for "reiterated")

page 17, column one, paragraph four, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...continue to exert efforts to facilitate a... (substituting "efforts" for "every effort")

page 18, column one, paragraph one, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...South and the increasingly acute foreign debt... (adding "increasingly")

Comparison of Gorbachev 17 May Beijing Speech
PM1805113989

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 18 May publishes in its Second Edition on pages 1-2 Mikhail Gorbachev's 17 May Beijing speech. The PRAVDA item, entitled "M.S. Gorbachev Speech," has been compared with the Moscow Television Service Russian version published in the 17 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 6-12, revealing the following variations:

page 6, column one, paragraph one, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: Esteemed Comrades and... (omitting editorial note)

column two, penultimate paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...system in an organic fashion and are... (substituting "organic" for "organized")

last paragraph, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...Soviet Union a "renunciation" of the links... (adding quotation marks)

page 7, column one, paragraph two, fourth sentence in PRAVDA reads: In 1989-1990, the grouping of Soviet troops deployed... (adding words)

from fifth sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...decommissioned from the Pacific Fleet. In May... (substituting "Pacific" for "Far Eastern")

column two, paragraph three, from first sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...pipelines for transporting "liquid coal." This is, incidentally...(omitting words, editorial note; supplying quotation marks)

page 8, column one, paragraph one, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: The 40-volume "Library of Chinese Literature" met with a... (adding quotation marks, capitalization)

column two, from paragraph two, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...commodity and monetary levers.

In restructuring the... (substituting "levers" for "levels")

page 9, column two, paragraph three, sentence six, PRAVDA reads: ...can be used in various social... (omitting phrase)

page 11, column two, paragraph three, only sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...the Cambodian people and Cambodia's course for... (rewording)

penultimate paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...is becoming possible precisely because practically all... (adding word)

last paragraph, from second sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...exchanges to cultural interpenetration. For our part... (rewording)

page 12, column one, paragraph two, sentence four, PRAVDA reads: ...in spite of all the efforts... (omitting "everything, of")

from penultimate sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...situation cannot continue indefinitely. It is in... (adding word)

penultimate paragraph, from second sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...to reject extremes. Hopes of a redistribution of wealth and the establishment of a sort of leveling out internationally are unrealistic. And the calculations. (rewording)

from sentence five, PRAVDA reads: ...development. A voluntary internationalization of efforts for the sake... (rewording)

column two, from last paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...to every family.

The audience listened to the Soviet leader's speech with great attention.

To the audience's applause, Hu Sheng, president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, cordially thanked M.S. Gorbachev and presented him with a copy of the book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Entire World," published in Chinese in the PRC. (omitting "Thank you," editorial notation; adding paragraphs)

Correction to Li Peng 16 May News Conference

PM1805074989

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Li Peng Meets Soviet Press on Gorbachev Talks," published in the 17 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 15:

column one, first paragraph, only sentence, make read: ...atmosphere of reciprocity, sincerity [iskrennost], and friendship," Chinese... (rewording, providing vernacular)

Summit 'Will Greatly Influence' World Situation

OW1805125489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1020 GMT 18 May 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] The official visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to China has ended. Its main result was the normalization of relations between our countries. A line has been drawn under past differences, and future prospects have been determined. As Comrade Gorbachev said, this is a watershed event. A long period of mutual estrangement has been left behind; in front of us is the future, the formation of which requires mutual efforts by the Soviet and the Chinese people.

Politicians and observers will, for a long time to come, comment on this important international event, which undoubtedly will greatly influence the world situation. Certainly, it remains for us as well to fully grasp the broad scope of ideas and proposals put forward during the talks in Beijing. But, the important thing is that the main road for broadening our friendly relations and cooperation has been determined.

Military 'Contacts' With China Urged

PM1905091989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain 1st Rank V. Kuzar dispatch: "For the Good of All Mankind. Our Special Correspondent Reports From the PRC"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 May—M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the PRC has ended. The whole range of ideas, diverse viewpoints, and proposals that came up during the Soviet-Chinese summit are yet to be subjected to a comprehensive evaluation. However, we can already make the bold claim that the visit has been a major event in the two countries' relations and is of lasting significance on a global scale.

In actual fact, the Soviet-Chinese summit marks a qualitatively new stage in the relations between the two countries. The normalization of these relations that was achieved in the course of the summit is in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the Soviet and the Chinese peoples, and it creates favorable conditions for improvement of the international atmosphere as a whole.

What would I like to emphasize here above all? As is known, the economy is the main sphere of human activity. The deepening of mutual understanding and trust makes it possible for our countries to concentrate more fully on peaceful, creative labor and to augment their material and intellectual resources in order to resolve their problems in conditions of reliably guaranteed, stable peace. And this is very important for both countries, whose peoples are tackling tasks in the restructuring and modernization of all spheres of social life. Naturally, economic cooperation between the USSR and the PRC is taking place right now. Soviet-Chinese trade exchanges totalled almost R2 billion last year, for instance. However, this is clearly inadequate for our countries, with their colossal resources and the world's longest common border, which naturally creates favorable conditions for cooperation.

Possibilities to substantially increase Soviet-Chinese economic ties in the interests of both countries were discussed during the summit. The main subjects of consideration were the power industry, metals, transport, and consumer goods production. Specific joint projects that could be implemented within the next few years were also mentioned. They include the construction of pipelines for the transportation of "liquid coal"—one of the promising spheres in the development of the modern power industry. The establishment of a new "Silk Road" from China to Europe along the Beijing-Urumchi-Alma Ata-Moscow railroad also holds promise. The development of economic cooperation would also be greatly promoted by direct links between enterprises and scientific research establishments and the creation of joint firms and production facilities, including facilities established with the participation of third countries.

Tremendous prospects are being opened up by the normalization of USSR-PRC relations in the sphere of culture and science. The atmosphere in which M.S. Gorbachev's visit took place has demonstrated convincingly that the traditions of Soviet-Chinese friendship have deep roots. And, what is more, these traditions have been absorbed by the younger generation. And there is no doubt that public contacts and contacts between cultural, arts, and scientific workers and people in general will contribute to the strengthening of mutual understanding and to friendship and trust between the Soviet and the Chinese peoples.

Prior to the Soviet-Chinese summit, many people wanted to know whether the sphere of military affairs would be touched on at the summit. Now it is clear that

it was touched on, that a concrete discussion took place on demilitarization of the Soviet-Chinese frontiers and their transformation into a border of peace and good-neighborliness.

As is known, in recent years both sides have implemented measures to reduce the level of military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese border. Since 1985 the Soviet Union has unilaterally reduced its Armed Forces in the Far East and has pledged not to build up its ground-based and air-launched nuclear systems. A structural restructuring has begun in the formations and units deployed along the Soviet-Chinese border with a view to bringing them in line with the principle of reasonable defensive sufficiency.

In accordance with the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, 436 intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles are to be destroyed in the eastern part of the USSR. In 1989-90 the grouping of Soviet forces deployed here is to be reduced by 200,000 men, including 120,000 men in the Far East. It has been announced that the ground forces are being reduced by 12 divisions, 11 air regiments are being disbanded, and 16 warships are being taken out of the Pacific Fleet.

This May the USSR has embarked on the latest troop reduction in Mongolia: In the course of the next 2 years three divisions, including two tank divisions, and the entire aviation grouping will be totally withdrawn. In the course of the summit the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to withdraw all Soviet forces from Mongolia after agreement with the Mongolian authorities.

Our country is prepared to work toward an agreement with China making it possible to withdraw all military subunits and arms from the border areas, leaving behind only the personnel necessary for normal border guard duty. This readiness met with understanding and support from the Chinese side. An accord was reached to create a working mechanism for elaboration of the principles of military detente in the area of the Soviet-Chinese border.

And one more point. Speaking about Soviet-Chinese relations in the military sphere, I would like to express the hope that they will not be confined only to questions of demilitarization of the border, but will assume a much broader scope. If the Soviet Union can have all kinds of contacts such as exchanges of military delegations, reciprocal visits by warships, and so forth with NATO countries, why should it not have them in relations with the PRC too?

There is no question that the Soviet-Chinese summit will have a beneficial effect on the development of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. The USSR's Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives are well known. They are aimed at preventing transformation of the Asia-Pacific region into an arena of dangerous military confrontation. They were an invitation to all the states located here to jointly give some thought to how regional conflicts could be settled, the spread of nuclear weapons and naval activity stopped, military forces reduced, and confidence-building measures elaborated.

It can be claimed with confidence that in Beijing these ideas were further developed. In the course of the talks with the Chinese leaders the whole range of problems pertaining to the Asia-Pacific region was discussed. They included the elimination of existing conflicts and seats of tension, the Cambodia settlement, support for the DPRK's efforts aimed at a peaceful and democratic unification of Korea, and other problems. It is important today to pool the efforts of all the interested states in order, with UN support, to give impetus to what could be described as the all-Asian process. After all, Asia is not isolated from other continents. The problem of its security is part and parcel of world security.

And so a new page has been added to the history of Soviet-Chinese relations. A page that must from now on be filled with a chronicle of concrete actions for the good of both our peoples and mankind as a whole.

Summit Opens New Prospects for Cooperation
OW1905050189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 12 May 89

[Unidentified station observer's commentary]

[Text] The time when Soviet leader Gorbachev will begin his visit to China is only a few days away. Everyone believes that the visit will become a new motivation for the Soviet Union and China to develop their relations in various fields. Now, please listen to a commentary on this by an observer from this station.

[Begin recording] Both the Soviet Union and China are bringing new life to socialism. Both are carrying out social and economic reforms and a drive for modernization. It is precisely in this climate that the relations between the two countries are becoming increasingly normalized. The in-depth reforms being carried out in the two countries are opening vast opportunities to bring the tremendous potential in Soviet-Chinese relations into full play. Of course, both sides still must make gigantic efforts to truly create an atmosphere of trust and a neighborly spirit. The principles of mutual relations, on which the two countries have agreed, definitely will play a positive role in this area. The two countries are expected to build their mutual relations in accordance with the new situation and the changes that have taken place in the world. These principles include mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; equality; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; and mutual respect for each other's rights, viewpoints, experience, and practice.

A concrete analysis of Soviet-Chinese ties in the economic, trade, science, and technology fields will show that such ties can be increased many times over. This is

because our two great countries both possess extremely abundant natural and intellectual resources. Economic cooperation between our two countries has made a giant stride in the 1980's. It is especially worthy to note that our two countries have found some new forms and methods of cooperation between us. But there is still very great potential to be tapped in this respect.

In his interview with TASS after holding talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said our two countries could establish joint companies and joint enterprises and make it attractive for the firms and enterprises of third countries to do research on various kinds of projects. The Soviet Union believes that there is great potential for direct contacts to be established between the enterprises, cities, provinces, counties, and republics of China and the Soviet Union. There are even brighter prospects for the development of border trade. Our two countries have benefited enormously by our cooperation in international affairs. It is already amazing enough for our two socialist nuclear powers to adopt identical or nearly identical positions on nuclear disarmament and defending and strengthening peace. A mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and China obviously will be conducive to untying the tight knot which is Cambodia, encouraging all sides to adhere to the Geneva accords on the Afghan issue, and reaching political settlement of other conflicts. This is why people across the world are so interested in the Soviet-Chinese summit. [end recording]

PRC Press Cited on Summit; Protests Viewed

PM1905101589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[A. Kirilov report: "Reportage From China": "The Long-Awaited Word 'Comrade'"]

[Text] Beijing—Throughout M.S. Gorbachev's historic visit to the PRC, the international press center in the supermodern Guoji Hotel located on Beijing's central Changanjie Avenue worked strenuously, like an overworked beehive, the TASS correspondent in China reports to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editorial Office. In May it became a real home to a polyglot team of journalists. The May summit meeting was the number 1 event on the pages of newspapers and magazines all over the world.

The latest newspapers sell like hot cakes in the capital of China's 1 billion people. Long lines form very early in the morning outside the kiosks. We ask the seller what work is like these days. "I hardly have time to get the newspapers before they are bought up," he smiles. "In my opinion, this is the best proof of the interest in this long-awaited meeting."

What is the Chinese press writing about?

"Two leaders—an old politician who experienced the Sino-Soviet rift, and a Soviet leader who observed the split between the two countries in all its detail—have addressed each other for the first time as 'Comrade,'" the newspaper ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO writes of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with Deng Xiaoping.

"This long-awaited 'summit,'" the English-language CHINA DAILY adds, "signifies the normalization of state and party relations between the two countries."

The Chinese press speaks objectively of the difficulties that have had to be overcome on the path of normalization. "Political antagonism, military confrontation, and ideological struggle between China and the Soviet Union lasted more than 30 years," Yi Chu, a commentator for the magazine BEIJING ZHOUBAO, points out. "There were bloody conflicts, too." However, those abnormal relations, he continues, were not only detrimental to two neighboring countries with a common border more than 7,000 km long, but they were also not conducive to peace and stability in Asia or throughout the world.

In the general opinion of the Chinese press, the switch from confrontation to dialogue and from tension to friendly cooperation has been made possible only as a result of the Chinese reform and the Soviet restructuring.

"China and the Soviet Union are socialist countries," Yu Gang, a specialist at the China Center for International Studies, says. "Both powers have embarked on a path of broad transformations. However, such large-scale reforms are an extremely complex matter..." The normalization of relations, this scientist declared in conversation with correspondents during the visit, "creates favorable conditions for an exchange of restructuring experience, a study of everything positive arising from the reform, and, of course, a mutual learning of negative lessons."

Tremendous prospects are being opened up in the sphere of economic cooperation between the two countries, Chinese interlocutors have emphasized during these days.

"The history of our contacts," Du Xianzhong, deputy chairman of the Heilongjiang Provincial People's Government, believes, "attests to the immutable interdependence and the complementary nature of our trade exchange. Heilongjiang borders on the Soviet Far East, and extremely great significance is attached here to contacts with the Soviet side."

A Heilongjiang delegation visited the USSR recently. It managed to visit three oblasts and conclude more than 50 agreements on technical and economic cooperation.

"In the border city of Heihe," the Chinese journalist Wu Naitao says, "I unexpectedly saw a real Russian loaf in a foodstore. Northern Chinese call it by the ancient 'Harbin' word 'heilieba' [Chinese transliteration of the Russian word for bread]. Here you can often hear people singing 'Moscow Nights' and other tunes now sung by the Chinese as their own folk songs. The four local television channels—two Chinese and two Soviet (from Moscow and from the oblast)—are a sign of the times."

And yet not so long ago the residents of Heihe were twice evacuated back deep inside the country—far away from the "theater of military operations." Today trucks, 40-50 a day, proceed in the other direction—toward the Sino-Soviet border. Their freight is children's toys and light and textile industry products.

More stable, long-term agreements are also being drawn up—for example, on the possible export of Soviet electricity to China and the setting up of joint production and sales associations, which would also reach markets in third countries.

...I must interrupt this account—a television report from Tiananmen Square has begun. Huge crowds of people can be seen on the screen, and young men and women lying unconscious—the participants in a hunger strike. The ranks of demonstrators include personnel of party organs and the ministries of culture and foreign affairs, workers, and the intelligentsia. They are calling for the public dialogue to be accelerated and for democracy and legality to be deepened. One poster bears an inscription in Chinese and in Russian: "Democracy is our common dream."

The student demonstrations are maximalist, as youth movements are wont to be. But these young people are the exposed nerve of society, and their shrill voice has been heard by the whole of Chinese society.

Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has appealed to the students: On behalf of the members of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, he acknowledged the patriotic, democratic spirit of the present student demonstrations directed against red tape and corruption and at continuing the reforms. The CPC Central Committee, he said, is attentively examining the reasonable demands of student youth.

The thermometer shows 30 degrees. This May—the spring of Sino-Soviet normalization—has turned out to be hot.

'Vremya' Reports 'Massive' Beijing Protests

LD1805193989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by special correspondents A. Tikhomirov and V. Kulikov in Beijing]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] Ever since Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev began his visit to China, we have had no time to take a close look at what has been happening in the streets of Beijing. But now we've gathered all the footage recorded during the week, starting from the initial disturbances on Tiananmen Square, to study the dynamics of that process.

[Kulikov] First people simply marched in columns, then they mounted their bicycles, and finally yesterday and today they have been travelling on vehicles—passenger and freight vehicles—and even city buses.

[Tikhomirov] At the beginning they were simply student protests involving only students. We described this in a number of reports, as well as their demands for rapid democratization processes and the rapid introduction of a political reform. Now I see that they have been joined by workers from the services sector; the people there in the red jackets are waiters from a restaurant. [video shows group of protesters in red jackets]

[Kulikov] Yes, they are from the Jao Lun Restaurant.

[Tikhomirov] The people in the white overalls are obviously medical staff. And there are cooks in white hats. However, as soon as the people on the streets realized that we were from Soviet Television they immediately started clearing a path for us. [video shows vehicle marked "Soviet Television" passing through a crowd of demonstrators] There are representatives and people on duty there, too; those wearing the red headbands are the organizers.

At the press conference yesterday Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was asked a few questions about his attitude toward the demonstrations, toward such major protests by students in Beijing, Shanghai, and other cities. He replied that this is China's internal affair, and that he can give no recommendation or advice on the matter since life has already proved that one cannot offer, so to speak, one and the same model of social development to a totally different state.

Today, Comrade Li Peng, chairman of the PRC State Council, had a meeting with representatives of the hunger striking student groups. They had a prolonged and serious discussion. Here are some pictures that have been shown on PRC Television. [video shows Li Peng in discussion with young people]

[Kulikov] Yes, these are tumultuous events on a massive scale. I, for instance, have often visited China over the past few years, but I have not seen any movement on this scale for about 20 years. At any rate, to judge by these pictures, the two sides have stuck to their own views at the dialogue that began today, but the dialogue is continuing and some solution will have to be found, of course. [video shows more demonstrations]

[Tikhomirov] We're not going to make any predictions, but the fact that things are moving in the direction of a political solution is excellent.

Beijing Protests, Student Hunger Strike Noted

OW1805130989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1020 GMT 18 May 88

[From the "World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] This morning, columns of pedestrians, bicycles, buses, trucks, and cars are moving from different suburbs of the Chinese capital to its very center, Tiananmen Square. They carry slogans in support of students, who continue their hunger strike in Beijing's very center. The slogans also demand that the leadership of the CPC and the government immediately begin a dialogue with the students. The student demonstrations were joined by workers of Beijing's largest enterprises and employees of state institutions. Traffic is paralyzed in main roads of the city. The police are not taking any measures to restore order in the streets, and the situation is practically out of the authorities' control. Numerous ambulances work around the clock. They carry strike participants who lose consciousness to the hospital. According to some reports, their number exceeded 1,000 last evening. The movement of traffic columns and ambulances is controlled by students.

This morning at 0500 hours, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, and other leaders visited the students emaciated by the hunger strike and taken to capital hospitals. Student demonstrations in support of the Beijing hunger-striking students have taken place in 26 large Chinese cities.

Representatives of different democratic parties addressed the leadership of the party and state with an appeal to begin talks as early as possible. A similar request to leaders was addressed by rectors of the four largest Beijing tertiary education establishments

CPC Examining Student Protesters' Demands

PM1805115589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 p 3

[Dispatch by special correspondent A. Platkovskiy: "Authorities Favor Dialogue"]

[Text] Beijing—The atmosphere heated up in Beijing yesterday. All the central streets were blocked by demonstrators—workers, employees, representatives of the intelligentsia, central newspaper journalists, and secondary school pupils. It is estimated that more than 1 million people are taking part in the demonstrations.

The demmonstrators are supporting the students—more than 3,000 of them—who have gone on a hunger strike. The hunger strike is in its fifth day.

Placards reading "We will not allow our children to die!" hang on the front of apartment blocks.

The atmosphere on Tiananmen Square, in the city center, is even more charged. It is overflowing with masses of people. People have gathered there to voice their moral support for the hunger striking students.

Following an appeal by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, a planned procession by demonstrators along the city's central streets did not take place. The CPC leadership particularly expressed the hope that the students would show "discipline and order." The CPC Central Committee is carefully examining the reasonable opinions and demands of students of higher education institutions, and dialogue will continue with them after they return to their hostels.

Heilongjiang Specialists Working in Soviet Far East

LD1805210489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1116 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Beijing, 18 May (TASS)—By the middle of this month, over 4,000 Chinese specialists had arrived in regions of the Soviet Far East from the Province of Heilongjiang (northeast China). They are working under contract at Soviet plants, in timber-felling, and in home construction, and are involved in vegetable cultivation. According to data of the Heilongjiang Province Directorate for Border Trade, another 4-5,000 people will depart for the Soviet Union in the next few months in keeping with bilateral agreements.

According to XINHUA, last year 1,200 workers and agricultural specialists departed for the first time from Heilongjiang Province to the USSR.

USSR, PRC Sign Cooperative Film Contract

18001043 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 May 89 p 6

["Old Friends"—SOVETSKAYA KULTURA headline]

[Text] Today, more and more often, the words "joint production" flash into the cinematic lexicon. There is a desire to work with foreign partners not just because the level of equipment in film studios abroad is better and the film of higher quality. Joint projects are concrete steps toward the realization of modern international policy in the area of culture. The director of the Gorkiy Central Film Studio for Children and Youth Films, Aleksandr Rybin, described the new business contacts to our correspondent.

"As you know, our film studio is working on an artistic-publicity program 'The 20th Century' (artistic director, V. Lisakovich). It consists of 20 films that tell of the most important events in the life of our century. The films attempt to pose the questions: What has the 20th century given mankind? And, possibly, of what has it deprived mankind?

"One of the pictures on which director B. Zagryazhskiy has begun work is devoted to medicine and is entitled 'The Hippocratic Oath.' Naturally, in approaching such a subject one cannot fail to direct attention to the healing art of China. Nor can one remain silent about the fact that it was in China during World War II that the special Japanese Brigade No 731 developed lethal bacteriological weapons.

"We therefore appealed to colleagues from the PRC for assistance. The result was an agreement for collaboration between the M. Gorkiy Film Studio and the Central Studio of Film Chronicles and Documentary Films of the PRC. The Chinese side is obligated to grant us the film archival material needed for the picture, to organize meetings with people still living who were witnesses to the tragic wartime events, and to render us production services on a non-hard-currency basis.

"It should be said that interest in China in the social processes taking place in our country is enormous. We sensed this during our meetings with Chinese cinematographers. We were received by Bao Tongji, deputy director of the PRC Ministry of Radio, Television, and Cinema. The Chinese side expressed its desire to shoot a documentary ethnographic film and travelogue in the USSR, and we are prepared to render assistance in this.

"In addition, we managed to visit the PRC Film Studio of Children's Films and talk with its director, Cheng Jinti, who, as it turned out, must resolve analogous problems. So, considering our common opportunities, we agreed to seek interesting subjects for joint films. Perhaps these will include the Chinese fairy tale 'The Barley Corn' published here, or possibly a film about one of the fellow champions of the Chinese revolutions, V.I. Lenin's comrade-in-arms, the Bolshevik Mikhail Borodin, with a screenplay written by G. Vayner and Yu. Nikolin entitled 'The Russian Lafayette.'

"In a word, we await our Chinese colleagues with concrete proposals at the Moscow International Film Festival and believe that the atmosphere of mutual respect and trust established between us will help us realize interesting projects."

Shanghai Economic Strength, Open Policy Viewed

PM1805180089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Special correspondent V. Ovchinnikov dispatch: "Open Shanghai"]

[Text] Shanghai, 18 Apr—"Goodbye Beijing! Hello Shanghai!" These are the words with which I would like to begin my narrative about the fourth and last day of M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to the PRC. Right after the solemn farewell ceremony, the Soviet visitor made his way to the airport to fly to Shanghai. The aircraft headed south, where Shanghai, with its 12 million residents, one of the world's largest cities, and China's largest city, sprawls near the Yangzi River estuary, along the banks of its tributary, the Huangpu River.

This chaotic port city is altogether different from the geometrically laid-out northern capital. Shanghai is the product of a time when imperialist predators were forcing their way into the country. In 1842, under the terms of the Nanjing Treaty—the first of the unequal agreements forced upon China by the colonial powers—Shanghai became one of the five Chinese ports forcibly opened to foreigners. It was destined to become the main gateway for imperialist infiltration in China.

Shanghai experienced all the bitterness of foreign oppression, all the evils of overseas influences. It was not for nothing that Chinese patriots at the time likened their motherland to a mulberry leaf gnawed by voracious silkworms. The textile industry was the main industrial sector in old China. And Shanghai accounted for one-half of the country's spindles. Cotton from the United States and wool from Australia were shipped for processing here. Barges loaded with iron ore made their way down the nearby Yangzi River to Japan. Later on, this metal returned to Chinese soil in the form of a hail of shells and bombs.

But even the dark pages of Shanghai's history have their brighter aspects. As one of the centers where Chinese industry was conceived and a forge where the Chinese proletariat was shaped, Shanghai became a city with glorious revolutionary traditions. It was here that the CPC's constituent congress was held in 1921. It was no accident that Mayakovskiy dedicated his "best poem" at the time to Shanghai. The works of Gorkiy and other Soviet writers, published in Shanghai by Lu Xun, the founder of contemporary Chinese literature, became textbooks on life for an entire generation of Chinese revolutionaries.

People in Shanghai have long been linked by firm spiritual bonds with the Land of the Soviets, with distant Russia. Evidence of this can be seen in the monument to Pushkin, whose fate is as dramatic as it is eloquent. The bust was installed in Shanghai in 1937 and paid for by Russian emigres to mark the centennial of the poet's death. In the summer of 1945 the Japanese occupiers removed the bust from its pedestal and sent it away to be melted down. The monument was restored 2 years later. But at the height of the "Cultural Revolution" the Red Guards again destroyed it as "a feudal, bourgeois, revisionist relic." Pushkin's bust was recreated for the third time by Chinese sculptor Gao Yunlong. The restored monument was unveiled to mark the 150th anniversary of the poet's death.

Before touring the city, Jiang Zemin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the city committee, told the Soviet visitor about Shanghai's present. The city now produces one-ninth of the

country's gross national product and provides one-seventh of state budget revenues. The most skilled section of the working class and the best engineering cadres are concentrated here, and this enables Shanghai to be in the vanguard of scientific and technical progress in the country. This is where promising sectors like microelectronics, laser technology, biotechnology, and industrial robot production are developing. Shanghai's trademark is recognized in China as a seal of quality.

As before, the port of Shanghai is unrivaled in the country in terms of freight turnover. But its role in external relations is not restricted to this alone. Shanghai is the the largest of the 14 Chinese maritime cities which, together with the five special economic zones, have been declared open to foreign capital investment. Yes, Shanghai once sprang up at the spot where the gates to the country had been battered down. But now it displays a qualitatively different, voluntary openness which embodies no longer a colony's bondage to the metropolis, but the increasingly deep interdependence of partner states with mutual interests.

In conditions where the world economy, science, and culture have become a single organism, no country can develop successfully in isolation from others. China also had additional reasons prompting it to bank not on the slogan of "self-reliance" but on openness and the development of external ties in every possible way. After all, the training of skilled specialists was virtually paralyzed for 2 decades after the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution." And an engineer cannot be raised in just a couple of years. The objective of the course of openness is not only to utilize foreign capital in the interests of socialist modernization, but also to learn to operate modern equipment, master new technology, and acquire the latest management methods—simply speaking, to accelerate the training of skilled cadres.

There are two main channels whereby foreign capital flows into China. The first is loans and credits. (They are used to fund the construction of many coal and metallurgical industry, power engineering, and transport installations.) The second is direct investments for the establishment of enterprises with mixed or foreign capital. (During the past year alone the volume of production at such enterprises increased 97 percent and the number of joint ventures established increased by almost 6,000.)

In some places foreign capital investment is encouraged by the offer of favorable conditions. Processing industry centers geared to export are being created there. The idea of an industrial export zone was first implemented in 1959 in the Irish city of Shannon. Then this experience was assimilated by other countries, and 2 decades later it was taken on board by the PRC. The policy of encouraging foreign investments, which was first implemented in special economic zones and open cities, has lately been extended to the whole of the seaboard, with a population of 160 million people. The economic strategy of this eastern strip of the country is geared toward exports and China's deeper involvement in the international division of labor in Asia and the Pacific.

The effectiveness of the open-door policy is borne out by the impressive growth of China's foreign trade turnover. During the decade of reforms it has increased five-fold and totalled $103 billion last year. The main scope for boosting the country's exports is provided by the special economic zones and open cities.

This is graphically demonstrated by the example of Shanghai, where several hundred joint ventures have already been set up. Furthermore, whereas at first foreigners were most willing to invest money in the construction of hotels, the influx of capital is now shifting toward high-technology production facilities. The enterprise that used to produce the "Zolotaya Zvezda" [Gold Star] pens that were once popular in our country has signed a contract with the Japanese Hitachi firm to jointly produce of color television sets. At first they were assembled from Japanese components, but gradually imports were reduced. Last year 520,000 color television sets were produced in Shanghai without outside help, and a quarter of these were exported. Fewer and fewer imported components are used at the Chinese-West German "Shanghai-Volkswagen" enterprise, which will soon produce 100,000 cars per year. By agreement with the U.S. Douglas concern, an aviation plant is under construction in the city.

Each of China's 14 open maritime cities has the right to create so-called "technical and economic development areas" along the lines of the special economic zones. The territory allocated for this purpose is provided with all the necessary infrastructure, and plots are leased to joint ventures. One such area, known as Minhang, has been created on the outskirts of Shanghai. The "Shanghai-Mitsubishi" plant is located here. This joint Sino-Japanese enterprise produces elevators and escalators that are in great demand in connection with the construction of high-rise buildings all over China. Spare parts and subassemblies for this equipment are exported to Japan. The contract with Mitsubishi and its Hong Kong subsidiary was signed for 20 years, and capital investments are to be recouped after 10 years. A Japanese management system is in operation at the plant. Output per worker here is around treble that of similar Chinese enterprises. The workers' wages are also higher. The trade union defends their interests but it does not interfere in production questions.

The "Shanghai-Mitsubishi" work force includes a young worker called Ding Guixing. The Soviet leader knows him indirectly. This young inhabitant of Shanghai, whose job involves working with microcircuits, has an original hobby—he paints on human hair—a type of national art. He sent one of his miniatures to Moscow as a gift to the Soviet leader and received in return as a sign of gratitude a photograph of him with a personal presentation inscription.

During M.S. Gorbachev's visit to China, the Shanghai branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society is staging in China's biggest city a photo exhibition received from the Soviet Union. The exhibition is entitled "The Strides of Restructuring."

"We are particularly pleased that this event has coincided with the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations," Zhang Anyou, the veteran of the revolutionary movement who heads the society's city branch, said at the opening ceremony. "The people of Shanghai's interest in what is happening in the USSR has probably never been greater than now. And Gorbachev's visit to our city will increase it further. 'The Strides of Restructuring' have caught up with us just in time."

The meetings with Shanghai workers were brief. However, their warmth and cordiality provided a worthy conclusion to a landmark event—the first Soviet-Chinese summit in 30 years.

Current State of PRC Economy Viewed

18300598 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by special correspondent V. Ovchinnikov: "Catching Up With The Epoch"]

[Text] "I am grateful to my fate for having lived long enough to see this day!" says my peer Zhu Le, as if divining my thoughts. We are going down the Zunbu Hutong Lane in Beijing, with which an unforgettable time in the life of both of us is associated. A little bit to the left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs used to be located on an adjacent street, and the office of a PRAVDA correspondent used to be on the right side at the end of the lane. The PRC was in its fourth year of existence when a recent member of the Shanghai underground and a recent student of China ended up in close everyday contact with each other. Zhu Le was working with Soviet journalists for the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the time, we traveled together to all the main construction projects of the first Chinese 5-year plan.

In the years of the "Cultural Revolution," Zhu Le was subjected to repressions as "a pro-Soviet element," spent 7 years cleaning pigsties in Jiangsu Province, and came back only a short time before the reforms began. He has accomplished much in international journalism, becoming president of the SHIJIE ZHISHI magazine and publishing association. So, we met again, 30 years later. Also, the high-rise hotel "Guoji," in which the Soviet Press Center was located in conjunction with the forthcoming visit by M.S. Gorbachev, was erected in exactly this part of Beijing, which holds so many memories for both of us.

"After 3 decades of unnatural alienation, each of our peoples desires to sort of discover anew the life of its great neighbor. Especially now, when we've got things to learn from each other," says Zhu Le.

Three Landmarks

The time from the distortions of "The Great Leap" (1958) to the pogroms of the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976) is not just a tragic page of post-revolutionary Chinese history. This is 2 decades that were wasted. This is an entire generation that grew up in an environment where no one learned anything properly (this means a gap in the reproduction of skilled specialists). What the first 5-year plan had successfully initiated was abandoned. For China, stopping meant falling behind even more. Over a quarter of a century (1960-1985), the gap in the level of gross national product between China and the United States grew eightfold.

"Catching up with the epoch; this is the sense of the reform," say leaders of the PRC. Having made socialist modernization of the country their foremost task, and having made overcoming poverty and backwardness their objective, the Chinese Communists have set the bearings for moving from one landmark to another. By the beginning of the 1980's, the volume of per capita gross national product amounted in China to 250 U.S. dollars. It was the task of the first decade of reforms to double it, to bring it to $500. This mark was attained 2 years sooner than planned.

The next objective is to yet again double the gross national product by the year 2000, bringing it to $1,000 per capita. In China, they believe that this would mean eliminating poverty. The third, and most significant, problem needs to be solved in order to overcome backwardness: by the year 2050, the gross national product should be increased yet again by a factor of 4, to $4,000, with the population being 1.5 billion. This should take China to the level of medium-developed countries.

The Chinese policy of reforms has won its first impressive victories in rural areas. It has shown that restoring the feeling of ownership in the peasant amounts to releasing enormous energy, capable of stirring up the entire economy of the country and leading it out of stagnation. A transition to the system of production responsibility of peasant farmsteads, or, putting it plainly, family contracts on the basis of long-term leasing, has caused a tremendous upsurge in the labor involvement of peasants. It was reflected mainly in the intensification of manual labor. However, very much depends on it in that enormous country, which has only 120 million hectares of arable land, or just a little bit over ten-hundredths of a hectare per person. Within 6 years (1979-1984), the annual grain harvest increased roughly one-third—from 300 to 400 tons.

For China, this was a truly historical leap. Not once had the country been able to harvest about 400 kilograms of grain per capita before. This meant adequately feeding the nation of 1 billion for the first time. The income of Chinese peasants has almost tripled over the last decade, and it has increased even more in areas adjacent to cities and the sea coast. The number of the poor (people with an annual income of under $55) has been reduced to 120 million.

Increasing agricultural output was not the only consequence of the transition to family contracts. Long-term leasing has created prerequisites for a more flexible utilization of labor resources. The freedom of entrepreneurial activities given to the peasants has brought about the rapid growth of local industries, construction, transportation, and trade in rural areas. At present, these very non-agricultural sectors generate 54 percent of the gross income in rural areas.

The genuine independence of rural enterprises is the main component of success in the local industries. After all, they are established and operated not on instructions from on high, but by initiative from below, assuming the entire burden of commercial risk themselves. They proceed only from the local potential and needs. The requirements of the market are the main guide for them. Due to the rural enterprises, the production potential of the country has increased by 20 percent, and its export by 14 percent, without any investment from the budget. One-half of construction materials, one-third of garments and footwear, and one-fifth of fabrics are now made by rural workers in China.

Among the First Seven

China has now overtaken Italy and become seventh in the world in gross national product. Sometimes we are not aware of the fact that this is one of the leading industrial powers. Let us take an indicator of industrial might such as steel production. For a long time, the leaders have been the USSR, Japan, the United States. Who comes after them? Is it the FRG, France, England? No, China ranks fourth. Last year, it produced 59 million tons of steel—more than our country in the late 1950's. I remember the objective the Chinese iron and steel industry set for itself in the first 5-year plan: "Catch up with England within 15 years!" At that time, the British, in the motherland of the industrial revolution, made much fun of this brazen slogan. Now, by the end of the 1980's, China produces almost 4 times as much metal as does England.

Let us take cement. Last year China produced 203 million tons of it (the USSR—139 million tons). The country has come to rank first in the world in the production of this most significant construction material largely due to the rapid growth of local industries.

Last year Chinese miners mined 970 million tons of coal (Soviet miners—772 million). The country ranks second in the world in coal mining, and exports a lot of solid fuel. China holds a quite impressive position in the world in oil extraction (137 million tons) and power generation (543 billion kilowhatt-hours), though on both these indicators it is considerably behind the Soviet Union.

China trails leading industrialized countries badly in car production. However, there are changes underway in this sphere as well. I remember how in 1956 the builders of the original Chinese automotive works greeted the first domestically manufactured truck in Changchun. In 1988, 647,000 cars rolled off the assembly lines here, their production increasing by 37 percent in one year alone. Joint enterprises—"Beijing-Jeep," "Shanghai-Volkswagen," "Tianjin-Daihatsu"—are in operation. Several million domestically produced cars are already travelling the roads of the country. Comfortable domestically produced buses have appeared on the streets of Beijing and other cities.

To be sure, bicycles continue to dominate the traffic in the street. They remain the main means of transportation for the urban dwellers. Last year 41 million bicycles were produced in China. There is hardly a country in the world which has such a boundless market for this kind of merchandise! In the years of the First 5-Year Plan a bicycle was a dream come true for an urbanite. A terry towel, an enameled basin for washing, and a thermos with flowers painted on it were the symbols of well-being which the Chinese toiler proudly displayed in front of foreign visitors. At present, one can see peasants purchasing color TV sets, washers, and motorcycles at department stores.

The time has come when the consequences of industrialization are tangible to the Chinese family. Household appliances, having become commonplace, are dramatically changing the daily round. Quite recently, washing machines were an unknown quantity even among the urban population. At present, China has broken through to rank first in the world in their production. For 2 years in a row now about 10 million of them a year have been produced (almost twice as many as we turn out). China has also overtaken us in refrigerator production (7.4 million), increasing their production by 77 percent in 1987 and by 84 percent in 1988.

However, all of these novelties are absolutely no match for the truly revolutionary upheaval television has brought to Chinese life. For millions upon millions of Chinese families, it has become the first window to the outside world, which they hardly knew anything about before. Last year 25 million TV sets were manufactured in China, including 10 million color TV sets. The impact of "the mass screen" on the most populous country of the world can hardly be overestimated.

Television became common in China before comprehensive literacy became a fact. They talk a lot about this paradox in China. Voices are heard saying that the growth of material production should not be the only indicator of success, that spiritual values, including the problems of national education, have been sort of put on the back burner in the years of reforms. Incidentally, most of the blame for this does not devolve on the last decade. It was exactly the so-called "Cultural Revolution" that has most harmed the cause of educating people.

In the years of the first 5-year plan, 150 million adults learned to read and write. However, later the movement for eliminating illiteracy lost its pace and scope. At present, China has one-quarter of all illiterate people in the world. This is 220 million people, or one-fifth of the country's population. Forty million school-age children have no opportunity to go to school. The state allocates 3.2 percent of the gross national product to education, which is well below the average world level. Urgently overcome stagnation in national education! is one of the demands of student demonstrations, a wave of which swept the country this spring. "We should admit to having made some mistakes in establishing the priorities of modernization. Among others, national education suffered because of this. It was decided to discuss this problem at the forthcoming CPC Central Committee plenum," Deputy Chairman of the State Education Commission He Dongchang said.

Regrouping on the March

However, it is important to clarify that the reasons for the manifestations by the student youth are broader than that. As my interlocutors say, their protest reflects pent-up social tensions in the country. In turn, the tensions are due to two principal causes. First, these are growth difficulties, which have become more acute on the eve of the second decade of reforms, and have necessitated regrouping prior to further advancement. Second, these are negative side effects of decentralization in the economy and economic pluralism, or, being more specific, greater incidence of abusing official positions for personal gain, which is a particular outrage to the people against the background of the mounting difficulties of life. "Inflation is the first evil, and corruption the second"—this is what they say in China now.

In the first quarter of this year, the index of retail prices was 28 percent higher than last year. China has not seen such a jump in the cost of living in all four decades since the victory of the revolution. In recent years, the amount of money in circulation has been growing twice as fast as the gross national product. The real standard of living of 35 percent of the urban population has declined due to the growth of prices. This seriously bothers the people, and affects social stability unfavorably.

Under these circumstances it was resolved to postpone for several years the planned wage and price reform, reduce the rate of growth of industrial production from 21 to 8 percent, reduce capital investment in fixed assets by one-fifth, mothball 18,000 facilities under construction, and, in a word, make the economy healthier, tame inflation, and carry out the regrouping of forces for further movement along the road marked.

The growth difficulties have become exacerbated in the period of transition, as the old command and administrative management arrangements are being dismantled, whereas the new, economic arrangements are not yet operating at full capacity. Also, practice has shown that, along with favorable results, market arrangements also cause unfavorable side effects, occasionally hamper sensible distribution of the resources in short supply, and fuel inflation. As soon as the enterprises received greater autonomy, they began falling over themselves taking out loans for expanding production. The processing industries have gone far ahead. Due to this, the shortage of raw materials, fuel, and transportation has become more acute, and prices have crept up.

The enhancement of the rights of enterprises has also revealed the undesirable trend toward the disappearance of cheap goods. For example, the production of enameled pots, sugar, salt, matches, and other staples has been wound down. Due to this, a wave of panic buying has swept through many provinces. At the same time, despite the decision of the government on restricting the production of expensive household appliances (a sizable segment of production capacity has been retired due to the shortage of electricity), the output of air conditioners increased by 178 percent in the first quarter of this year, despite the fact that they cost twice the average annual income of the Chinese peasant. Local authorities interested in tax revenues secretly encourage the production of expensive goods. This, incidentally, must be the most harmless abuse of an official position.

During the years of reform, China has made perceptible progress in creating a mixed economy and developing economic pluralism. The growth rate of production last year may show this. It amounted to 13 percent at state enterprises, whereas at cooperative enterprises it was 29, and at individual enterprises 46 percent. New forms of production relations boost labor enthusiasm. However, on the other hand, the mixed nature of the economy, the proximity of state, cooperative, and private enterprises, chaos in prices (distribution, contract, and market prices) provide an environment conducive to speculation, fraud, and corruption. Due to their privileged access to raw materials, fuel, transportation, and, finally, economic information, officials of various ranks derive illegal profits, thus getting involved directly or indirectly in entrepreneurial activities.

The struggle against the demoralization of the party and state cadres in the country has been accelerated. In Beijing, as well as in other cities, there is a center of

people's control to which anyone may report orally or in writing the actions of the "guangdao"—officials involved in extortion. According to the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, due to such reports, over 650,000 party members have been disciplined, and almost 100,000 expelled from the CPC in the last 4 years.

"In the process of reforms, people have appeared who use their positions for profiteering, and who become involved in bribery and fraud," says Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong. "These unfavorable phenomena harm the authority of the party and the government, negatively influence their bond with the people, and interfere with the successful implementation of reforms. The demands of the student youth to put an end to demoralization and corruption, to invigorate the process of democratization, and to give greater help to education and science are well-grounded; they coincide with the striving of the party."

In appealing to the students for a dialogue, the leaders of the country are stressing that the preservation of political stability is a key condition for the success of reforms, for solving the difficult problems China is now facing.

The last session of the Chinese National People's Congress noted that in order to make the economy healthier, raw material and energy industries should be developed faster and, mainly, increased grain production should be ensured, which now turns out to be the weakest link in the national economy of China. After 6 years of increases, the crop has been below 400 million tons for 4 years now. Per capita, this now amounts to 360 rather than 400 kilograms, because 14 to 15 million new mouths to feed are added in the country annually. Annual crops need to be brought up to 500 million tons by the year 2000 in order to restore the previous level, and maintain it until the end of this century.

Are family contracts based on long-term leasing capable of ensuring such an increment? Has the peasant farm exhausted its potential? Chinese scientists believe that such a conclusion would be premature. However, it is not labor intensification that will be required for the new leap, but a broad-scale implementation of the achievements of science and technologies.

Grain farming in China is going through a period of stagnation primarily due to its low profit margin. Many farmers, unhappy with the growth of prices for the goods they need, have switched to more profitable crops than rice and wheat. It is not easy for the state to increase the procurement prices for them. After all, such a measure will either hit the workers and clerical employees in the wallet, or will place a burden on the budget.

Nonetheless, it has been decided that this year the peasants will be paid 18 percent more for their grain than last year. Second, state investment in agriculture will increase 68 percent. Among other things, this will make it possible to fix irrigation facilities. After all, now that the attention of the peasant is focused on the land parcel he leases, dams and channels have been left unattended, and have begun to deteriorate.

The third endeavor is to optimize the scale of agricultural production, to encourage the spontaneously emerging desire of the peasants to work together, [to engage] in new forms of voluntary cooperation that favor the introduction of advanced agricultural technology and mechanization of agricultural operations.

A search for new ways is on in rural areas, just as it is all over China. They must move ahead by trial and error, encountering unexpected obstacles at times, and feeling bitter, because their expectations outrun the opportunities. The Soviet people know from their own experience about the difficulties entailed by the cause of renewing socialism. This gives us cause to believe that the people of China will be up to the historic task of leaving poverty and backwardness behind, catching up with the epoch, and implementing socialist ideals on the soil of China.

Northeast Asia

News Conference Held on Pullout From Mongolia

LD1805121889 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar May 18 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Pavel Spirin and Vladimir Khrustov:

The Soviet troops, returning home, have fulfilled their internationalist mission on Mongolian territory. Their pull-out is the result of the implementation of the principles of new political thinking, a graphic proof of the essentially defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine. This statement was made by Major General Leond Mayorov, commander of the Soviet troops temporarily deployed on Mongolian territory, at a news conference here today.

A considerable number of units to be withdrawn will be disbanded, he said. The first train with the demobilized soldiers has crossed the USSR state border. Other servicemen will continue service on Soviet territory.

Up to 75 per cent of Soviet troops deployed in Mongolia will be withdrawn in 1989-1990. Only this year the Mongolian side will receive 75 barracks, 112 apartment blocks, 26 canteens, 10 hostels, three 1,200-seat schools, 19 clubs, 37 boiler houses, scores of depots and warehouses, and three bread factories. Former military settlements will be turned into populated localities and industrial areas. The commander stressed that the facilities, which are being turned over, were fitted with all the necessary equipment for normal operation and that the adjacent territories were ecologically pure.

Murakhovskiy Addresses Joint Mongolian Commission
PM1805141589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in Ulaanbaatar"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 11 May—On 10 May J. Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, received V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who has arrived in Ulaanbaatar to take part in the work of the 36th session of the Soviet-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation.

J. Batmonh noted the Mongolian working people's growing interest in the restructuring which is being implemented in the Soviet Union. In Mongolia, he pointed out, similar processes are getting under way and developing on the whole successfully.

V.S. Murakhovskiy gave an account of the work being carried out in the USSR to implement a radical economic reform and of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum, which elaborated the basic guidelines of the agrarian policy at the current stage. He described the main thrust of efforts to improve production relations and accelerate scientific and technical progress in the agro-industrial sphere.

During the discussion of questions pertaining to the further development of Soviet-Mongolian relations, the sides expressed the common view that it is necessary to improve the mechanism of economic collaboration and enhance its effectiveness. Special attention was paid to the intensification of the social thrust of cooperation in the interests of the two countries' peoples.

The conversation, which passed in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, was attended by D. Sodnom, member of the MPRP Politburo and chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, and other Mongolian party and state leaders.

Problems With Soviet-Japanese Relations Examined
PM1605081989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 May 89 First Edition p 3

[A. Matveyev article: "Time To Abandon Stereotypes"]

[Text] Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno's visit to the USSR is over. Both M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with the leaders of Japan's foreign policy department and S. Uno's talks with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze demonstrated the dynamics of the development of Soviet-Japanese relations in all their complexity. On the one hand, the dialogue between our countries is being stepped up and positive experience accumulated. On the other hand, these relations still clearly lag behind worldwide trends.

It has now become clear just how complex is the work lying ahead of both diplomats and politicians. It is necessary to overcome the obstacles of enmity and suspicion that still block the development of good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation. Whether this proves possible or not depends to a considerable extent on whether the sides are able to bring their approaches into line with present-day realities in international life rather than yesterday's realities.

It is no secret that there is a considerable difference between the two countries' positions on a number of problems, including the question of security. People in Tokyo still claim that the Soviet Union is building up its armed forces in the Far East. They conclude that this "buildup" threatens the Japanese people's security.

But do these claims correspond to reality? The facts indicate the opposite. Soviet military leaders have stated authoritatively on several occasions that there has been no buildup in the Soviet Armed Forces in this region for a number of years. It was recently decided to reduce the troop grouping and naval forces in the Asian part of the country by 200,000 servicemen. At the same time three divisions, including two tank divisions, two air divisions, and a number of individual units will be withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic in 1989-1990.

This substantial reduction in armed forces and arms is taking place against the backdrop of the elimination of Soviet intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in Asia. It is appropriate to mention that the USSR has announced that it will not increase its quantity of nuclear weapons in the region. Yet the United States is continuing to increase its nuclear weapons there, above all sea-launched cruise missiles—weapons targeted on the Soviet Far East.

A great deal of conjecture has been published recently about the "threat" to Japan from our ground forces. Clearly distorted data is circulating here. At the same time you do not have to be a military expert to see the true picture. The USSR does not in fact share a land border with Japan. Consequently, the offensive potential of the Soviet troops is in that case determined by their landing capabilities. And the United States has virtually 150 percent more landing ships and vessels than the USSR capable of transferring troops!

It is the Pentagon that rehearses the transfer and prompt deployment of its formations in this region year in, year out. It does not seem that U.S. General C. Dike was being witty when he said once that the Far East is allegedly the "Near East" for the United States. These kind of rehearsals were also carried out during the recent "Team Spirit-89" maneuvers in the south of the Korean peninsula. Rapid deployment force units and air and naval forces were transferred from Guam, Hawaii, the continental United States, and also the Philippines. Of course, Japan is the most important springboard for

launching U.S. troops "north." It is there that the U.S. 3d Marine Division, 50 nuclear-capable F-16 fighter bombers, and carrier groupings are deployed. During maneuvers like "Team Spirit" the United States rehearses sudden strikes that are by no means solely aimed against DPRK territory.

Troops are needed in the Soviet Far East to prevent the implementation of such schemes vis-a-vis the USSR. They fulfill an exclusively defensive function there. The Soviet Pacific Fleet has similar tasks. Its composition and structure attest to this. Almost half of its submarines are diesel-powered, and small ASW ships and minesweepers, that is vessels designed to perform tasks in coastal areas, represent a considerable proportion of the surface forces.

This does not, of course, mean that the Soviet Armed Forces' potential cannot be reduced. But that will only happen if the overall level of military confrontation is reduced. Japan could do a great deal in this respect. However, at present that is not happening. On the contrary, the Japanese factor is becoming increasingly significant in the balance of forces in the Asia-Pacific region. It is through the Japanese that the Pentagon is trying to increase still further its military superiority over the USSR in the Pacific Ocean. It is no secret that the Japanese Armed Forces have been allocated an appreciable role in the unprecedented multilateral "Pasex" maneuvers this fall, which, SANKEI SHIMBUN attests, will rehearse plans for aggression against the USSR. What kind of role? The May 1988 "Rimpac" naval maneuvers give a possible indication. Japanese destroyers then formed part of the escort group covering the U.S. aircraft carrier that "struck a Soviet missile cruiser."

But Japan's military functions are not confined to collaborating with U.S. Armed Forces in the region. The Japanese Armed Forces' tasks are assuming an increasingly independent character. Japan has today undertaken the function of establishing military supervision of a 1,000-mile zone and blockading international straits. There are plans to broaden these functions. In accordance with the Pentagon plan expounded quite recently at a bilateral symposium on questions of joint military strategy during the nineties, the Japanese Navy was given responsibility for defending naval lines of supply and communication in the region from Kamchatka to the Philippines. The vast region to the south that includes the southwest part of the Pacific Ocean and the entire Indian Ocean is to be a zone for joint Japanese and U.S. Navy operations. It must be said that the buildup in Japan's "self-defense forces" is completely in line with this plan. Japan's military spending increases annually by 5 percent. Its combat potential, if you take conventional arms into consideration, is quite comparable to the armed forces of the United States' closest NATO allies: Britain and the FRG. The "self-defense force's" arsenal includes state-of-the art missile hardware, tanks, destroyers, and combat aircraft. There is a prospect of Japan creating its own aircraft carriers.

I think that it is no coincidence that S. Uno failed to give a direct answer to M.S. Gorbachev's question as to how we are to see the fact that Japan and the United States are continuing to increase their military potential and military activity in the region while the Soviet Union is scaling down the level of its military potential in the eastern part of the country.

Such actions on Tokyo's part mean that this country is still trying to guarantee its security primarily by military means, while relegating political means to the background. Yet misgivings and contradictions could be settled by creating a negotiating mechanism involving military experts from the states of the Asia-Pacific region. That is what the Soviet Union proposed in its Krasnoyarsk program. If such a proposal as the nonbuildup of naval and air forces in the region where the borders of the USSR, the DPRK, the PRC, Japan, and South Korea converge were implemented that would indisputably increase Japan's security. This is all worth examining during talks.

A second group of questions that seriously complicate relations between the two countries is linked with what official Tokyo calls the "territorial problem" but which is in fact its territorial claims on the Soviet Union. Japan's ruling circles are demanding the "return" of four islands in the Kurile chain which allegedly belong to Japan. Here they are showing blatant disregard for both political and historical realities. People in Tokyo have preferred, for instance, to "forget" that the San Francisco peace treaty, to which Japan is a signatory, recorded Japan's renunciation of the Kurile islands, which were handed over to the Soviet Union under the Yalta agreement. Moreover, at the first session of the peace treaty working group the Soviet side cited specific facts illustrating that the Kurile islands have been Russian territory from time immemorial since Russia was the first to explore, affiliate, and study them.

Of course, territorial disputes between states are nothing new. Considerable experience of seeking mutually acceptable solutions and settling such disputes has been accumulated. Yet Japan's similar claims on China and South Korea are not impeding the full development of its relations with these countries. It seems that "double standards" are being applied to the Soviet Union. Tokyo recently stated that the "territorial question" does not take the place of all Japanese-Soviet relations, but it is allegedly a braking factor. I think that some people reckon that the USSR is so interested in economic cooperation with Japan that if it is "leaned on" it will make concessions. But such calculations can hardly be considered realistic. When our territory is at stake, such a deal would simply be insulting.

The Soviet Union has indeed elaborated and is beginning to implement an economic development program for the entire Far Eastern region. These plans allot a considerable and extremely important place to the Kurile islands. However, we do not rule out the idea of foreign companies' involvement in economic projects. I believe that the Soviet Union would not object to Japanese firms becoming involved in such projects. For curbs on trading and economic relations between the USSR and Japan promote only confrontation, not the solution of problems.

In conclusion I would like to say that it is our mutual task to raise Soviet-Japanese relations to a level worthy of two such neighboring states. This must be resolved in the interests of both the Soviet and Japanese peoples.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Gorbachev's Comments on Cambodia Cited

BK1705134589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 17 May 89

[Excerpts] During the 3d day of his visit to China, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev delivered a speech at a mass meeting held in Beijing on 17 May. In the speech, which lasted over 1 hour, he dealt—among other things—with Soviet-Chinese relations, reforms in the Soviet Union, and international affairs. [passage omitted]

With regard to the Cambodian problem, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev noted that following the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia by the end of September, there would be a new promising development there. At present, the process of implementing the settlement was being discussed and drawn up with the aim of ending the protracted Cambodian conflict. It was important, he added, that the Cambodian parties themselves should strive to find a common formula for the future political system of the country. [passage omitted]

Thai Crown Prince Arrives in Moscow

PM1705092089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Crown Prince's Arrival"]

[Text] Maha Wachiralongkon, crown prince of Thailand, arrived in Moscow 15 May at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

He was met at the airport by T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister; Yu.G. Bakhtin, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium; Lieutenant General Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander in chief of the USSR Air Force; and other officials.

Among the welcoming party were M. Chuto, Thai ambassador to the USSR, and heads of diplomatic missions of a number of Southeast Asian countries accredited to the Soviet Union.

Discusses Reform, Ties With Lukyanov

PM1705124989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ties Strengthening"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received Crown Prince Maha Wachiralongkon of Thailand, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During a warm and friendly conversation A.I. Lukyanov talked about the transformations taking place in Soviet society, the current phase of restructuring, and the preparations for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The eminent Thai guest's attention was drawn to the Soviet initiatives aimed at removing the nuclear threat, affirming universal human values in international relations, and strengthening trust and security in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world.

Crown Prince Maha Wachiralongkon noted that people in Thailand are following the Soviet process of renewal very attentively and wish the Soviet people success in their great venture. He expressed gratitude for the opportunity to gain a closer acquaintance with our country's rich cultural heritage, scientific and technical achievements, and the life of the Soviet people.

In the course of the conversation the sides expressed mutual satisfaction at the positive changes that have occurred recently in USSR-Thai relations. Noting the deep historical roots and good traditions characteristic of Soviet-Thai ties, the sides advocated that they be further developed and galvanized in all areas, including political dialogue, trade and economic cooperation, and humanitarian contacts.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium gave a luncheon in the Kremlin in honor of the crown prince of Thailand, at which A.I. Lukyanov and Maha Wachiralongkon exchanged brief speeches.

The luncheon was attended by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Commentary on U.S. Military Bases in Philippines
HK1805044189 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 17 May 89

[Commentary by Viktor Vladimirov]

[Text] There has been a flurry of reaction by the United States to the statement made by Philippine President Corazon Aquino about Manila's readiness to begin talking to Washington about its military bases later this year. Almost simultaneously, three top American officials spoke up on this issue—Vice President Dan Quayle, Secretary of State James Baker, and Admiral Huntington Hardisty, the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Pacific and Indian Ocean promptly expressed confidence that the talks would result in a solution to the vexing problem. Indeed, there is no doubt that these talks will favor Washington. What this means is that the American military bases will remain in the Philippines after the expiry of the agreement on September 1991.

On which facts are these convictions based? Over the years, the military bases at Subic Bay and Clark Field have become the basis for the military assistance being extended by the United States, purportedly to stabilize the extensive region which makes up the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Such moves have succeeded in propping up those countries' economies, as has happened in the Philippines. The business of providing services to the bases has resulted in the employment of close to 80,000 Filipino workers; this also involves the provision of commodities required by the American military officials. But such a situation should not be tolerated in the developing world.

Public opinion in the Philippines, as reflected in the newspapers, shows that the American bases are not looked on as guarantors of the country's security. Opposition is growing over the bases' retention. Meanwhile the Philippine Government is studying alternative peaceful uses for the bases. But Washington has enough clout to pressure Manila, which is why the United States is agreeable to paying a higher rent for leasing the bases. Financial assistance is a major issue because of the Philippines' urgent need to solve its grave economic and social problems. Funds are also needed to pay the country's external debt which amounts to $28 billion. This issue rests on the bases being retained in the archipelago. This was declared by Chairman Stephen Solarz of the Subcommittee for Asia and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives when he visited Manila this past month. Other pressures are also being applied.

In Singapore, U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle issued a warning about the Soviet threat to Southeast Asia. In a speech, he stressed that the American bases are needed to counter the growing threat posed by the Soviet Union to the Asia-Pacific region. This, during a time when the Soviet Union is reducing its armed forces in a part of Asia. Additionally, Moscow has been urging Washington to jointly liquidate its military bases—the Soviet naval facility at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam and the U.S. bases in the Philippines. It is very sad that this suggestion has not received a positive response.

Meanwhile the situation in Southeast Asia has changed perceptibly. Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus made a speech at the American-Philippine Committee for Mutual Defense, citing the changing situation in the Asia-Pacific region and of his country's need to review its relationship with the United States. He also declared that no threat to Philippine sovereignty exists. Hence, any warnings about a threat involve the moves for an early signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty with the United States. Manglapus has stressed that the dismantling of the bases should be based on the interests of the region. This observation should be aired during the coming U.S.-Philippine talks. The Philippine Constitution mandates that the U.S. bases can remain even after 1991, if approved by two-thirds of the members of the Upper Chambers of the Philippine Parliament [as heard]. The Senate does not seem inclined to allow the bases to stay. So the statement by American officials predicting positive results of the coming talks should be taken with a grain of salt.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan National Assembly Convenes; Opposition Heard
PM1905083989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent A. Ivanko dispatch: "Loya Jirga Called"]

[Text] Kabul—This event will undoubtedly be historic for Afghanistan. In the next few days the third Loya (Great) Jirga [National Assembly] since the April revolution will begin its work in the capital. According to the country's Constitution the Loya Jirga, in line with national and historic traditions, is the highest spokesman for the will of the Afghan peoples. Such an important assembly is called quite rarely in the country, and the questions which are being discussed at it are really determining Afghanistan's future for years to come.

Many foreign journalists are making predictions as to what form the present Loya Jirga will take. The importance of its decisions depends to a significant degree on its representativeness. According to the Constitution the following take part in the Loya Jirga's work: the members of the National Council, the prime minister, his deputies and government members, the chairman and members of the Supreme Court, the general prosecutor, his deputies, the chairman and members of the Constitutional Council, the members of the National Front Executive Committee, 10 people from each province,

their governors, the mayor of Kabul, and also 50 prominent public and religious figures nominated by the country's president at the National Front's recommendation.

The Central Commission for Elections to the Loya Jirga has made an appeal to the commanders of the opposition formations operating inside and outside the country. It calls for an end to the senseless bloodshed and for participation in the Afghan state's highest forum—the Loya Jirga. The document stresses that the opposition participants who have arrived in the capital are guaranteed full immunity and the opportunity to openly express their views from this elevated platform.

The formal reason for calling the Loya Jirga is a Constitution article which says that the decision of this high assembly is needed in order to extend the state of emergency in the country beyond 3 months. Indeed, the state of emergency expires 17 May. But will the Loya Jirga's work be determined merely by the extension question? Conversations with Afghans lead one to believe that the range of problems being discussed will be much wider.

The question of Pakistan's interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs is by no means the least. Many of the country's leaders speak even more harshly—the interference is shifting to an overt Afghan-Pakistani war. The movement of regular units up to the border with Afghanistan, the constant supply of arms and equipment to the bandit formations, and the redeployment of the so-called volunteer-militia near Jalalabad—is this not open aggression against a neighboring state? Few people are deluded by Pakistan's diplomatic maneuvers, stooges, and promising peace-loving statements. The grim reality requires new assessments, including those based on the fact that to this day the Geneva agreements are not being fulfilled by the United States and Pakistan.

A few words about the situation in the capital. For the 3d day in a row formations of the irreconcilable opposition have been shelling Kabul, causing casualties among the peaceful population. On 16 May the international airport and a number of residential areas were shelled. Three people died, and serious material damage was inflicted. About 21 surface-to-surface missiles exploded in the vicinity of the airport while aircraft which had brought flour from the Soviet Union were there. No Soviet airmen were harmed or equipment damaged.

PDPA Official on Assembly's Role

PM1805142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and member of the National Assembly Central Election Commission, by APN special correspondent R. Budrin: "Afghanistan: In Favor of National Reconciliation"]

[Text] Kabul, 17 May—The last preparations are under way in Kabul before the convocation of the Loya Jirga—the country's supreme legislative organ. Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and member of the Loya Jirga Central Election Commission, talked about the impending Afghan national meeting.

Jirgas or assemblies were always of great significance in the life of Afghan society, N. Kawiani said. They made their appearance at the time of the communal and tribal system when the most important questions were resolved at general meetings of the tribe elders. The main problems to be discussed on this occasion are the extension of the emergency situation and further ways to effect a political settlement and implement the national reconciliation policy. The Loya Jirga has been convened for the first time since the Soviet Union—after completely fulfilling its pledges as a party to the Geneva accords—withdrew the limited contingent of troops from Afghanistan. The time since then has shown that the Afghan Armed Forces can independently defend the country against armed aggression. Our enemies' predictions regarding the Kabul regime's rapid downfall were not realized. The reverse happened. Our people rallied in the face of the increasing danger that arose with the beginning of Pakistan's armed incursion in the Jalalabad region.

More than 760 delegates, N. Kawiani continued, will take part in the work of the Loya Jirga. Special attention is being devoted to inviting opposition representatives, including internal commanders, many of whom are observing the government cease-fire despite the fact that the opposition leadership in Peshawar has categorically rejected it. The safety of everyone coming to Kabul will be guaranteed.

The commanders can help establish peace in the region. The government already has positive experience of cooperating with them. Take, for instance, Kapisa district. In accordance with the national reconciliation policy we gave the local opposition a chance to independently control it. The large "Gulbahar" textile mill operates there; 8,000 people work at it. Its raw material comes from Kabul, and the output goes to Kabul and then to other areas of the country.

There are examples of a similar kind in Herat, where Governor Halekyar has good contacts with the opposition; in Helmand, where Shah Nazar, a former oppositionist, holds the post of governor; in the north, on the Salang, where the 80th Afghan Ishmaelite Division controls a sector of approximately 300km almost to Mazar-e-Sharif; and in a number of other places.

A military solution to the Afghan conflict is unacceptable. The only reasonable way is that of national accord, and reconciliation is only possible with the broad involvement of all sides, Najmuddin Kawiani said. The Loya Jirga should contribute to the cause of establishing peace and strengthen the status of neutral, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan.

USSR Works for Release of POW's in Afghanistan
PM1205111989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "The Principle of Continuity Is Maintained. From Our Correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Excerpts] G.I. Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department, addressed a regular briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

A REUTER correspondent asked: Which side at the [Shevardnadze-Baker] talks raised the question of the critical remarks by U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney on the prospects of restructuring in the Soviet Union, and how did the Soviet side respond?

As for the U.S. secretary of defense, G.I. Gerasimov replied, he is entitled to his opinion, just like any other person. So the question was not raised from the viewpoint of any kind of grievance. It was raised because we believe, as do the Americans, that restructuring in the USSR is conducive to the improvement of the international climate. We noted that people in the Soviet Union understand the secretary only too well. He needs money to finance huge military programs. How is he to do this if the "Soviet military threat" disappears...? [passage omitted]

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said further that the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Soviet ministries and organizations, and newspaper editorial offices continue to receive letters from citizens who are concerned about the fate of Soviet servicemen captured in Afghanistan. The USSR Foreign Ministry constantly keeps this at the focus of its attention. A total of more than 25 people have returned home from Pakistan, Afghan territories temporarily under rebel control, and also the United States, Canada, and West European countries. (According to the coordination committee for the release of Soviet POW's captured in Afghanistan, 31 people have been released of late—Ed. Note). This question is constantly being raised during talks, especially with representatives of countries which have a direct bearing on this problem—Pakistan and Iran. Appeals have been sent to the U.S. and French presidents, the FRG chancellor, and the prime ministers of Britain, Canada, and other countries. Efforts are under way to utilize the potential of the United Nations and other international organizations and also prominent politicians and public figures. Contacts with the Afghan opposition are also being used in the search. The problem of the Soviet prisoners of war was raised during the meetings with opposition leaders in Al-Ta'if, Islamabad, and Tehran. The Soviet embassies in Kabul and Islamabad are constantly working on this problem. However, the work is complicated by the divergent interests of the various Afghan opposition groupings and their desire to use their Soviet POW's in their political game.

The USSR Foreign Ministry, G.I. Gerasimov stressed, will continue to work tirelessly with the aim of finding our servicemen and helping them to return home.

Afghan Military, Diplomatic Moves Considered
PM1705120689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA and TASS report: "The Rebels' Hopes Were Not Justified"]

[Text] It is 3 months since the day the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was completed. This event received widespread approval in the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, and political and public circles in other countries. Throughout the world people of goodwill were hoping that now bloodshed on Afghan soil would decrease and real possibilities for a peaceful solution to the problem would come to light.

Alas, this did not happen. If anything, the intensity of fighting has increased. This is because the United States and Pakistan have adopted a course of directly violating the Geneva agreements. Saudi Arabia has also stepped up its interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

This is being confirmed literally every day. As the TASS correspondent reports from Kabul, on 14 May irreconcilable opposition units carried out rocket and artillery shelling of residential areas of Jalalabad and government troop positions with the support of the artillery of the 11th and 18th infantry divisions of Pakistan. As a result, two civilians were killed and eight wounded. At the same time it became known that in the fighting outside Jalalabad two military instructors from Saudi Arabia were killed.

Today the Western press admits that the predictions of the leaders of the irreconcilable opposition and their protectors that the republican regime in Kabul will collapse after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, have turned out to be groundless. On the contrary, correspondents of Western papers in Pakistan are noting the determination and skillful operations of the Afghan Army. The fact of the matter is, the English newspaper THE GUARDIAN, for example, stressed, that the Afghans fighting on the side of the government increasingly realize that they are the defenders of the national sovereignty against Pakistani expansion.

This observation is confirmed by recent events at Jalalabad, where as our correspondent A. Ivanko reports, government troops have forced the enemy to abandon several fortified positions on the southwest side. Aircraft carried out assault bombing raids on rebel positions. The enemy's losses numbered 26 dead and 70 wounded.

Afghan Army subunits carried out an operation to eliminate antigovernment formations in action on the Kabul-Jalalabad highway in the Sarowbi region. Sixteen rebels were killed and 19 wounded, a rocket launcher, a mortar,

and two recoilless guns were captured. A group of extremists who were terrorizing the local population in the province of Parvan was also eliminated.

At the same time the Afghan Government is continuing its active foreign policy aimed at exposing foreign aggression. Abdul Wakil, Afghan minister of foreign affairs, went to India on a working visit. He was received by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Also present on the Indian side were K. Natwar Singh, minister of state for external affairs, Krishna Chandra Pant, minister of defense, and other officials. Concrete measures were discussed that could be taken in order to restore peace in Afghanistan.

In Delhi, R. Gandhi had a meeting with Abdul Wali Khan, the chairman of the People's National Party of Pakistan, who is making an active stand against the continuing interference of Pakistan in Afghanistan's affairs.

In an interview for the Peshawar-based Afghan opposition news agency AMRS, S. Mojadeddi, president of the "transitional government" of the mujahidin, rejected as "unacceptable" the Soviet Union's suggestion on holding an international conference in order to stabilize the situation.

Gorbachev Aide on Israeli Territorial Elections

TA1505140089 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 15 May 89 p 1

["Exclusive" report by Gid'on Kouts]

[Text] Beijing—"I do not think that the plan to hold elections in the territories will bring about peace because it is excessively based on the Camp David accords, whose negative points exceed their positive ones and consequently preclude the possibility of a comprehensive solution. On the other hand, there could be elections in the territories only if they were part of a process." These remarks were made yesterday in an exclusive interview by DAVAR with Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the Soviet delegation to the Beijing talks, a senior adviser to President Gorbachev, and director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute.

According to Primakov, the Soviet Union objects to separate agreements but not to "interim phases." "The notion of elections, as raised in the plan, cannot be considered an interim phase," he said.

Gorbachev's senior adviser told DAVAR that the political contacts between Israel and the Soviet Union will continue through the Soviet delegation in Israel and the Israeli delegation in the Soviet Union. "Without Syria nothing will be accomplished in the Middle East. I believe that Syria would agree to a solution involving an international conference and would take part in one. It has already voiced its agreement to this effect, taking our position into consideration," Primakov noted. He reiterated the Soviet Union's support for "an international conference which would include bilateral contacts and which would take into account the need to base a lasting agreement on three points: safeguarding the security of all the countries in the region, including Israel; self-determination for the Palestinians; and an Israeli territorial withdrawal.

"Everything could be discussed in a conference. To this day I do not understand why Israel objects to it, seeing that everyone would then commit themselves to its existence and security, albeit not to its expansionist tendencies," Primakov added.

The senior Soviet official went on to tell DAVAR: "The PRC and the USSR are two world superpowers, and as such they must discuss the situation in the entire world; such a discussion will also include the Middle East issue. Nevertheless, a joint initiative on the issue should not be expected at the moment. The Soviet Union has proposed a regular channel of communication in the framework of the UN Security Council, and one should not rule out the possibility of such a joint initiative in the future."

Shamir Plan for Territorial Elections Discredited

LD1505170789 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 15 May 89

["'The Shamir Plan' for Palestinians—Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—By TASS political writer Albert Balebanov:

Resorting to a ploy in order to get the country out of its present state of international isolation, Israel's coalition government approved the plan of Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir to hold elections in the occupied Arab territories. But even a quick glance at the plan will make one realize that it leaves the Palestinians with next to nothing.

The plan provides for electing on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza sector 10 Palestinian representatives who would, in the forseable future, negotiate with Tel Aviv the establishment in these territories of an interim regime of limited self-government within the framework of the Israeli state. The remarkable thing is that Shamir's government does not promise any final status for the occupied territories. Moreover, Shamir rejects any possibility of talks with the PLO which has been recognized throughout the world as the only legitimate spokesman for the entire Palestinian people.

There is no doubt that the decision on elections, clearly aiming as it does at strangling the uprising now well into its 17th month and at disrupting the successful diplomatic offensive by the PLO, was adopted with the complete approval of the United States, the chief ally of Israel.

So is it any wonder that the Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories have immediately condemned "the Shamir Plan" modelled after the Camp David separate collusion which was rejected by the Arab World. People in the occupied territories believe that if any elections are to be held, they should be held with the consent of the PLO and under strict international control.

What sort of genuine elections can there be if they are to be held in the conditions of the Israeli occupation? It is, therefore, any wonder that the PLO insist on a preliminary withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza sector. On the other hand, the Palestinians are prepared to agree to elections, but only on condition that the elections become an organic component of the overall process of a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. But even this is not intended to be the case. The Israelis demand that the Uprising be discontinued in exchange for holding the elections. Do they in Tel Aviv really count on acceptance of this condition, while the Palestinians are offered nothing in return and the sacrifices they have made during the uprising would turn out to have been in vain?

"The Shamir Plan" also fails to meet the provisions of key U.N. decisions on the Palestinian problem, including those providing for the creation in the territory of Palestine of two independent and sovereign states—a Jewish and a Palestinian ones. And since all this is not part of the intentions of the Israeli cabinet, then it is only reasonable to expect such a negative response from the Palestinians.

Outlook for Mideast Peace 'More Favorable'

PM1705105389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Pavel Demchenko article under the rubric "View From Moscow": "Compromise Needed"]

[Text] The unprecedentedly loud boom of artillery fire in Lebanon seems somehow to have stifled the efforts that had been made recently to bring about an overall settlement of the crisis situation in the Near East. Yet there have been highly significant improvements. These prompted the Paris weekly LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR to use the fairly apt phrase: "The train of peace stood rusting away for more than 40 years in the station called the Middle East, then suddenly set off at top speed."

One cannot deny that French journalists are skilled in providing figurative and vivid descriptions of events, laconically boiling them down to a few words. However, I think that nobody would be so bold as to predict when the train will reach its destination.

As is well known, the end of last year was marked by the end of the fighting on the Iran-Iraq front. Admittedly, the warring factions have not yet managed to reach a peace agreement. They are only managing to maintain a fragile truce with UN help. Nonetheless, a resumption of hostilities is unlikely. Visiting Iraq last month, I saw that the traces of destruction caused by missile attacks had been almost completely cleared away, and severely affected Basra had been turned into an out-and-out construction site.

"Iraq," Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz told Soviet journalists, "is hereby demonstrating its peaceful intentions. If we wanted to restart the war we wouldn't be building, particularly near the border."

These words sounded quite logical and added to the general impression that tension in the entire Persian Gulf was clearly on the decline.

Against this backdrop the need for more vigorous action to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict—which has lasted more than 40 years and seen neither side able to impose its will on the enemy during the five major Near East wars that have occurred in this period—stood out in even greater relief. And although the militarization of the region has reached dangerous levels, I think that things have reached a point where people are starting to weigh up once again the trends toward a political settlement of the question, bearing in mind the real situation in the world.

The Palestinian uprising—the intifadah—that flared up 18 months ago is highly instructive in this respect. Strictly speaking, it is not an armed uprising. Not for nothing is it called the "revolution of stones." Its participants have set just one target: to show Israel that the occupation cannot go on any longer and that Palestinians will never give up their political rights. It was the intifadah, it seems to me, that prompted the Palestine National Council (the parliament in exile) to proclaim an independent state not in place of Israel but alongside it, on the basis of the UN resolution adopted back in 1947 but rejected at the time by all Arab governments. Many events had to happen in the Near East for this and other UN resolutions recognizing the existence of two states on the historical territory of Palestine to become acceptable to many, if not all Arabs.

It is also important that the great powers have had access to all parties to the conflict. Thus, there have been meetings in Tunis between U.S. diplomats and representatives of the PLO, which Washington had ignored ever since its creation.

The Soviet foreign minister recently toured Near East capitals. He met with the leaders of Arab countries, the PLO, and Israel. Foreign observers have noted that during the trip original and innovative ideas reflecting the current overall trends in Soviet foreign policy were put forward.

This is all the more important because (and why make any secret of it!) in recent years we have had to listen to bitter words from Arab capitals about the passivity and

dogmatism of Soviet diplomacy, the bureaucratization of economic relations, and so forth. The impetus provided by the Soviet minister's trip should be reinforced by specific new action.

Finally, one other event that until recently had seemed impossible: French President F. Mitterrand recently received Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and president of the Palestinian state, as an official guest. AFP reported that during the talks in Paris the head of the French Republic talked about "Palestinians' right to a state."

All this improves the prospects for convening an international conference on the Near East.

Yet, however important the role of the great powers, each of them has its own—sometimes conflicting—interests in the region, which cannot be ignored. To pretend that the conflict can be resolved merely through a USSR-U.S. agreement or by an agreement among all the permanent members of the Security Council would be to oversimplify matters. I think that no government has a magic formula, a "golden key" able to conjure up a door to peace.

Hence the need for collective action. Moreover, the main components of the Near East equation are to be found in the region itself. I repeat: The importance of external factors and foreign intervention should not be played down, but nonetheless the historical roots and inertia of the conflict are to be found where the conflict is occurring. They can be quite hard to understand, so deeply are they rooted in the past. However, I would like to believe that we are on threshold of change for the better in the Near East.

The strife in the Arab world is being replaced by promising new forms of cooperation conditioned by the economic and political imperatives of the time. Three zones have now been defined in this connection: the Maghreb (the Arab West), the Persian Gulf, and finally the recently established Arab Cooperation Council, which encompasses Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and the Yemen Arab Republic. The barometer of inter-Arab relations is clearly showing "fair weather," which opens up opportunities for convening a summit conference. Judging by recent reports, such a conference is planned for 23-24 May in the Moroccan city of Casablanca. The Palestinian issue, the Lebanon issue, and a Near East settlement are on the agenda. The foreign press is full of reports that the conference will resolve the question of the return to the Arab League of Egypt, which was expelled from it 10 years ago after concluding a "peace treaty" with Israel. Egypt is now an active supporter of an international conference on a Near East settlement and of the Arab countries' working out a unified, coordinated policy. All this gives grounds for stating that the Arab side is showing more and more flexibility and realism.

But what about Israel? Without its participation there will be neither a conference nor any peace. A great deal depends on that country's position. Its ruling circles are increasingly hewing to a policy of force which, historical experience shows, is a dead end. The thesis still prevails that the creation of a Palestinian state runs counter to Israel's national interests and threatens its security. The groundlessness of this is obvious. This is also understood by influential sections of Israeli society, which are tired of constant tension. They believe that it would be far more useful to exchange the captured lands for peace with their neighbors—for without peace no state can exist normally. Even with foreign support a small country is incapable of endlessly acting as butcher: It is simply more advantageous for it to agree to independence for the Palestinians, in order to establish good relations with them before it is too late. The international conditions for this are more favorable than ever before. Israel is hardly likely to be able to go on swimming against the tide for long, counting on the United States—as the Israel Government is currently doing.

There is a way out: However great the differences in positions may seem, compromise between Arabs and Israelis is possible and necessary. Moreover, I think it is simply inevitable. So need we waste time?

International Conference on Mideast Supported

TA1205195389 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 12 May

[Text] The talks between the U.S. and Soviet foreign ministers have ended in Moscow. In the course of discussions into the questions pertaining to a settlement in Middle East, the Soviet minister again proposed the convening of an international peace conference for the Middle East. Secretary Baker did not in principle oppose this proposal, but expressed the opinion that conditions are not ripe.

Why has the Soviet Union supported the idea of an international conference for the last 10 years, despite the fact that to date we have not succeeded in overcoming the U.S. and Israeli objections to convening such a forum? Our commentator Dmitriy Prokofyev wrote a column about this issue.

The commentator writes that in his opinion the opposition to the idea of an international conference has been and still remains the result of a misunderstanding. Both in the United States and in Israel many people believe that an international conference is diametrically opposed to direct negotiations. If this had been the case [words indistinct]. An international conference without direct negotiations looks like a forum which enforces solutions. However, no regional conflicts have been solved by means of enforcing solutions in our era, and it is to be doubted whether an enforced solution could last—these are the arguments of the adherents of direct negotiations. In Jerusalem it is maintained that Israel would be in a minority in the international forum: The

Arabs, the Soviet Union, and China would pressure it, whereas the United States, France, and Britain would not be able to help because of their interests in the Third World.

Incidentally, Arab extremists are also against an international conference. Their arguments seem prima facie similar to the Israeli arguments: They are unwilling to recognize Israel and believe that the conference would force upon them such a recognition. In fact, however, there is no symmetry here. Mutual recognition is indeed an absolute precondition for participation in the conference based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338. This means that the conference would enforce the recognition, but it would not and could not enforce the solutions.

I believe that we too—Soviet information—have had a considerable role in creating the myth of a conference which enforces solutions. For a long time we have spoken about a conference vested with authorities, while emphasizing particularly these authorities. True, in the Russian language this word does not have a connotation of enforcing solutions, but when it is translated into Hebrew it can indeed cause apprehension among the Israelis. What, however, is the meaning of the concept of a conference with authorities? First of all it means that the delegations participating would have extremely wide-ranging authorities, that they would be able not only to present opinions approved by the governments before the negotiations, but also to [word indistinct], to search for compromise arrangements, and if necessary also to agree to mutual concessions. This means that the delegations must be senior, on the level of foreign ministers or heads of UN delegations.

As for the solutions to be accepted in the framework of the conference, not only would they not rule out direct negotiations, but on the contrary they would necessitate direct negotiations. Only naive people can believe that [word indistinct], Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinians would agree that decisive solutions regarding the conflict between them would be made by a factor other than themselves. Solutions to conflicts involving the two sides will be achieved by direct negotiations.

If this is the case, what purpose would the framework of an international conference serve? [Words indistinct] it is mainly needed for coordination between the work groups which would conduct direct negotiations. It is probable that in talks with one Arab country, solutions would be found which might torpedo arrangements with another Arab country. It should be noted that this was the case as recently as 40 years ago, in the Rhodes talks. Now too this could happen in talks with Jordan, the Palestinians, and apparently Syria as well. In order to prevent entanglements it would help to establish multisided [rav zdadiyot] work groups for solving concrete problems.

Superpower participation could also be very helpful. Obviously they would not enforce solutions; they could not force solutions. Because of their responsibility for the peace in the world, however, the superpowers would provide a guarantee for the arrangements which would be attained by the elements directly involved in the conflict. [words indistinct]

An international conference is not only not opposed to direct negotiations, it includes it as a central element. The framework of an international forum, however, would make it possible to prevent mishaps and unnecessary entanglements, and also to provide the most effective guarantee to the agreements which would be signed.

Bessmertnykh Receives Iraqi Ambassador 17 May

LD1705151589 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Soviet first deputy foreign minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh received Iraq's ambassador to Moscow Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal Wednesday at his request.

They discussed matters of Soviet-Iraqi relations and Iran-Iraq settlement, and the situation in that region.

Iran, Iraq Should Refrain From 'Warmongering'

NC1305084589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 12 May 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Tehran and Baghdad continue to accuse each other of engaging in military preparations. For its part Iraq is emphasizing that Iran's military industries are developing rapidly. Recently, new types of weapons and specifically missiles and helicopters were manufactured and tested in Iran. Meanwhile, officials and the press in Iran have expressed concern over the growth of Iraq's military structure. More reports are being published that Western companies are participating and cooperating militarily in this. These reports point out that the United States, specifically, assisted Iraq greatly in the manufacture of missiles and that French companies continue to arm Iraq with modern weapons.

In the opinion of Larijani, former deputy foreign minister of Iran, the recent Baghdad fair, at which various types of weaponry were unveiled, manifested the big countries' interest in turning Iraq into a regional gendarme.

This is the situation that exists in the relations between the two countries, at a time when the fourth round of peace talks ended in Geneva recently. This round of talks did not yield any marked positive results. The participants in the talks continued to insist on their former policy, and neither side wanted to retreat from its

(?warmongering) ambitions and to take a serious step toward mutual trust. As a result, the unstable situation of war and peace did not thaw.

Under such conditions, when political dignity and goodwill are necessary, the two sides continue to want to see each other not as future neighbors, but as former enemies. Both countries speak about changing their industries to ones that manufacture nonmilitary products. It should be pointed out in this regard that in the Baghdad International Fair, which was called Defensive Equipment in the Service of Peace, Iraq's minister of industries and military production [title as heard] said that the country's military factories would begin to manufacture trucks, tractors, and other equipment needed in the nonmilitary field. Likewise in Iran, a number of military factories and units are said to have been attached to the reconstruction jihad. However, neither side has stopped its serious military preparations.

The continuation of militarization and of the arms race is dangerous both for Iran and for Iraq, and seriously threatens the fragile peace in the region. At this sensitive moment for neighbors and on the eve of the fifth round of peace talks, Tehran and Baghdad should refrain from military and warmongering ambitions and allegations, and take a step toward their true interests.

Commentator Outlines Iran's Development Plan

NC1805174989 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 18 May 89

[Report on interview with Radio Moscow Commentator Aleksandr Batev with excerpts of Batev's voice in Russian, followed by Russian translation]

[Text] Esteemed listeners: Iran's 5-year plan for economic development and progress has been presented to the Islamic Majlis for assessment. We asked our commentator Aleksandr Batev about the plan's characteristics. He said that the 5-year plan has put an end to the prolonged discussions in Iran on what should be the nature of economic progress and growth in Iran in the postwar period. It may be recalled that some circles in Tehran had expressed their views on the benefits of attracting foreign financial sources for the country's economic reconstruction. Others had propounded views on the need to depend on indigenous resources, saying that a foreign debt increase poses a danger to the country's independence.

As is clear from the development plan, the latter school of thought prevailed. That is, Iran will only take out foreign loans in extraordinary cases. Iran hopes to meet its foreign exchange needs in general from the income accruing from oil exports. Therefore, it is not a mere coincidence that the reconstruction and the expansion of the oil industry has been given top priority in formulating the 5-year plan. The present viewpoint on growth and progress has at least one shortcoming; that is, a prolonged period has been approved for economic reconstruction. This is what may (?necessitate) taking out loans, as referred to by the proponents of taking out massive foreign loans.

Meanwhile, the swift spiraling of inflation, the price hikes, the shortage of consumer goods, and the presence of unemployment dictate that urgent and immediate measures should be taken to raise the standard of living of the people in order to preserve stability in Iran. Is it not so? Yes, we should not ignore these realities. The solution apparently lies in providing larger facilities to activate the private sector. For example, in the 5-year plan which has been submitted to the parliament for assessment, it has been envisioned that some governmental agencies, which are termed as nonstrategic in Tehran, will be delegated to the private sector. This decision seems to be a major concession to the reform-seeking circles by those who follow the policy of rigid and comprehensive government controls over the country's economics.

Thus, the 5-year plan is a sort of compromise between the proponents of various economic (?schools of thought). If the plan is successful, time will show how durable the success is. In my opinion, it is not too farfetched that there may be some amendments in the 5-year plan while it is being implemented.

USSR-Egyptian Commission Signs Protocol

LD1505192489 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Cairo May 15 TASS—The joint Soviet-Egyptian intergovernmental commission for economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation has held its first meeting in the Egyptian capital.

The Soviet delegation was led by Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev, and the Egyptian delegation by Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade Yusri 'Ali Mustafa.

The commission signed a protocol which pointed to the existence of real prerequisites for restoring bilateral commercial and economic relations on a long-term and large-scale basis.

The protocol said that the exchange of visits by the foreign ministers of the two countries had given a fresh impetus to bilateral cooperation.

The sides endorsed recommendations aimed at balancing trade exchanges and broadening their volume.

The intergovenmental commission proposed considering the development of a long-term programme for economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and

Egypt for economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Egypt for 1991-2000, and discussed a draft programme for scientific and technological cooperation for the next two years.

The commission decided to hold its second meeting in Moscow next year.

On Monday, Katushev was received by President Husni Mubarak. They discussed all aspects of the improvement of bilateral economic contacts and their impact on the development of all-round relations between the peoples of the two countries.

The president welcomed the results of the commission meeting and pointed to the high level of commercial and economic ties achieved at it.

CPSU Aide Leaves for Morocco Party Conference

PM1705125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Off to Congress in Morocco"]

[Text] A.M. Moskvichev, CPSU representative and USSR deputy health minister, left for Morocco 16 May to take part in the work of the 12th Istiqlal Party Congress at the invitation of its leadership.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Hijacked Soviet Plane Lands in Tanzania 18 May

OW1805174789 Beijing XINHUA in English 1729 GMT 18 May 89

[By Liu Yegang]

[Text] Dar es Salaam, May 18 (XINHUA)—An Il four engine aircraft of the Soviet Union was hijacked today in Tanzania. It has landed at the old international airport in Dar es Salaam.

The motive and the background of the hijackers are not immediately known. The police refused to give any details. Tanzanian Minister for Communications and Works Steven Kibona, high ranking officials from the Foreign Ministry and police headquarters had a long negotiation with the hijackers.

At 14:15 GMT, the Soviet ambassador to Tanzania approached the aircraft, which landed at the end of the run-way. Some policemen and soldiers began to withdraw from the airport. It seems that the negotiations have been concluded.

Mr. Kibona told reporters that he would release the details of the incident late today.

CPSU Delegation Returns From Tanzania 17 May

PM1805115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "CPSU Delegation Returns"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by R.Kh. Khabibullin, first secretary of Bashkir CPSU Oblast Committee, returned to Moscow 17 May after visiting Tanzania at the invitation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania.

Addis Ababa Situation 'Returning to Normal'

LD1805230489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 18 May 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Igor Surguckev]

[Text] After the attempted state coup the day before yesterday, the situation in the capital of Ethiopia is returning to normal. It is calm in the city. Its thoroughfares are being patrolled by tanks and armored vehicles.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, president of Ethiopia, interrupted his visit to the GDR and returned to Addis Ababa. The statement by the State Council of the country, and messages from mass public organization to the Council of Ministers praised the actions of the loyal sons of the people who thwarted the plot of the generals and traitors.

Addis Ababa radio today reported the arrest of a leader of the plotters, Industry Minister Major General Fanta Belay. It also reported that in the course of the failed coup attempt, Major General Haile Giorgis Babte Mariam, member of the Worker's Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and minister of national defense, was killed by the plotters for refusing to join them. Judging by news agency reports, only the troops stationed in the administrative center of Eritrea Province are continuing actions against the government. In an attempt to help them, the armed forces of Eritrean separatists have declared a unilateral 2-week cease-fire.

The authorites are monitoring the situation in the country and have called on working people to keep the peace and order, and carry out their usual duties.

State Council Statement Issued

PM1805142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Demidov dispatch: "Ethiopia: Tanks on the Streets of Addis Ababa"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 17 May—An attempted coup d'etat took place in Ethiopia yesterday. According to a State Council statement broadcast late in the evening on Ethiopian radio and television from this republic in the Horn of Africa, it failed. The capital's inhabitants have been urged to keep calm and not to leave their homes.

The statement issued by the Ethiopian State Council points out that Major General Merid Negusie, chief of the Ethiopian Revolutionary Army General Staff and member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee, and Brigade General Amha Desta, commander in chief of the Air Force and candidate member of the WPE Central Committee, who led the conspiracy with certain high-ranking military men, were killed during the attempted coup. The conspirators tried to use the country's armed forces to establish a military regime. A number of generals who took part in the attempted coup have surrendered to the authorities.

Moreover, the official statement says that troops from the capital's garrison completely suppressed the demonstration aimed at overthrowing the incumbent Ethiopian leadership which began a few hours after the departure of republic President Mengistu Haile Mariam on an official visit to the GDR. However, a radio broadcast from Asmera, capital of the autonomous Ethiopian province of Eritrea, read out a report that the commanders of the Second Revolutionary Army units stationed in the north of the country had declared their support for the coup and refused to submit to the government.

Events developed as follows: Yesterday afternoon, the sky over Addis Ababa was split by the roar of jet engines as fighter planes patroled the city at a low altitude. A few hours later combat helicopters circled the sky. One of them dropped pamphlets onto Revolution Square. Then tanks and armored personnel carriers appeared on the streets. Soldiers surrounded the National Defense Ministry building. Traffic down the main boulevard and areas adjoining it was sealed off. From time to time firing broke out. Small arms fire continued virtually all night.

State establishments are not operating today in the capital. The approach roads to the airport have been completely blocked by police patrols. Tanks and armored vehicles are standing on the approach roads to the Ministries of National Defense and Information and the Addis Ababa City Hall. Banks and stores are closed. Life has in effect come to a standstill in Africa's largest market, the Marcato. Only grocery stores are trading. Here and there sporadic firing can be heard.

Adamishin Receives Nigerian Ambassador

PM1905082389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Zubeiru Mahmud Kazaure, Nigerian ambassador to the USSR, on 16 May. He passed on a message addressed to E.A. Shevardnadze from his Nigerian counterpart. Questions of Soviet-Nigerian cooperation and also some aspects of the situation in Africa were discussed during the friendly conversation.

CPSU Greets SWAPO Leader on 60th Birthday

PM1605152989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organization, Namibia
Esteemed Comrade Sam Nujoma!

Please accept our congratulations and best wishes on your 60th birthday.

We once again express support for the political settlement that has opened the way to Namibia's attainment of independence and we confirm our solidarity with the Namibian people.
[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee.

East Europe

Polish Press Agency Comment on Krakow Riot Cited

LD1805152689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] The Polish agency PAP comments on anti-Soviet disturbances in Krakow. These excesses inflict a painful blow to the interests of the country and the Polish people because they cloud Polish-Soviet relations at a time when they are being cleared from deformations. The responsibility for the Krakow riot lies not only with the radical section of the opposition. The opposition as a whole, in one way or another, advocates anti-Sovietism and by this it creates a climate in which outbursts like these develop. We stand for democracy and pluralism, but we are against loutishness and against insulting the national feelings of any people, said the inhabitants of Krakow, who spoke about what happened in the town. The majority of the Polish society is indignant.

On 17 May, Polish Prime Minister Rakowski received USSR Ambassador to Poland Brovikov. The theme of the discussion were problems, according to PAP report, representing mutual interest and arousing concern.

Polish 'Extremists' Fuel Anti-Sovietism

PM1905073189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Krakow Yet Again. Anti-Soviet Demonstration at the USSR Consulate"]

[Text] Warsaw—You get to hear amazing statements from the lips of the representatives of the opposition during the campaign for the elections to the Polish Sejm and Senate. What do their programs contain? How are they trying to gain the voters' confidence?

What is Andrzej Lapicki, a well-known Polish actor and, incidentally, a member of the council attached to the Primate of the Polish Catholic Church, who is running as a candidate for the Senate, gambling on, for instance?

Speaking on the radio a few days ago in the "Solidarity" propaganda slot, he declared: "The occupation (fascist occupation, that is—L.T.), was, in my opinion, a continuation of independent Poland. It merely took the shape of the underground. We had our own independent government in the underground at that time, and our own army. The occupation forces were only on the surface. All this ended at a certain moment with which everyone is familiar. It was then that servitude began...."

This statement has shocked the Poles. It will be interesting to see, the newspapers commented, who will vote for a candidate who has decided, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of fascist Germany's assault on Poland, to bolster his prestige with reminiscences about the "delights" of the occupation period when smoke was belching from the furnaces of the crematoria in Oswiecim, Majdanek, Treblinka, and other death camps here. "I have no idea," a TRYBUNA LUDU journalist writes, "how A. Lapicki's performance in the political arena will be rated by the instigators of his nomination as candidate senator.... As far as I am concerned, A. Lapicki has 'suffered a resounding fiasco' already during the premiere. He was in the grip of a lie and was unable to conceal this even with the help of his talent as an actor."

The allusion to "servitude" which came about allegedly as a result of the victory over fascim is obvious, of course. Other speakers are less fastidious, they refer openly to "Soviet intervention" and "Soviet occupation."

The anticommunist, anti-Soviet tenor is clearly discernible in the campaign conducted by the opposition forces in Poland. "Solidarity," for instance, has circulated the following self-confident statement among voters: "By not voting out of laziness, you are helping the Communists." That is to say, if you overcome your laziness and go to the ballot box, you will, of course, vote for an opposition candidate rather than anyone else. Not for a "Communist" or a "nonparty bolshevik." The well-known extremist L. Moczulski, leader of the illegal "Confederation of Independent Poland" even threatened street clashes at a press conference if representatives of the "Confederation of Independent Poland" do not get elected to the Sejm.

Unfortunately, the extremists' words are not at variance with their actions. Krakow has again become the scene of street disturbances with an overtly anti-Soviet character, organized in the same manner as during the unforgettable March of this year. Polish television has shown anarchic gangs of young people marching on the Soviet Consulate General carrying banners with the inscription: "Soviets go home." The hooligans espoused symbols such as gallows from which a red star hangs suspended. They threw small change over the gate of the Soviet Consulate General chanting that this was the money to buy return tickets to the USSR. As if continuing what was artfully intimated by A. Lapicki, they shouted hysterically that the Soviet forces stationed in Poland are occupation troops.

The militia was forced to intervene and to disperse the unruly mob. The extremist elements in the opposition are again manipulating young people. General J. Gruba, chief of the Krakow Voivodship Internal Affairs Administration, named the ringleaders of the vile demonstration which are well-know to the local militia. They are M. Mamon and P. Khertig [second name as published]—Jagiellonian University philosophy and history department students, and D. Pieklo—a student at the Mining and Metallurgical Academy.

On 17 May anti-Soviet elements, mainly young people, repeated the assault on the Soviet Consulate. They threw stones at the building, chanted vile insults against the Soviet Union, and tried to invade the territory of the consulate. Stones were also hurled at militia subunits which arrived at the scene of the latest provocation. The militia was forced to use water cannons and tear gas. The hooligans ran riot and destroyed a considerable number of private cars parked in the vicinity of Westerplatte Street, where the USSR Consulate is located. They broke anything that they could lay their hands on and erected barricades with benches wrenched from a nearby park. On that day 7 innocent passers-by and more than 20 militiamen were injured and 19 militia vehicles were damaged.

The Krakow Voivodship Prosecutor's Office has opened an investigation in connection with the provocative demonstrations which took place 16 and 17 May.

Polish newspapers carry a PAP commentary which states that the events have evoked a sense of outrage and concern among people. The anti-Soviet provocations are directed against the interests of the state and the people and against Polish-Soviet relations at a time when they are developing successfully and have been purged of deformations. Responsibility for the Krakow escapades, the commentary says further, falls on the whole of the opposition rather than just its radical wing, since the opposition is advocating anti-Sovietism in one way or another.

The agents provocateurs are poisoning the atmosphere of national accord which has emerged and in which Poland is proceeding toward the elections.

Polish Election Campaign Gathers 'Momentum'

PM1705124189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent L. Toporkov: "Poland: What Will the Sejm and Senate be Like?"]

[Text] Warsaw—It is only a little while since "Solidarity" received the status of a legal trade union, but it seems that no one is surprised any longer by the posters

with the characteristic script used for this word nor by what we would call "Solidarity's" agitation centers encountered here and there. "Solidarity" has joined straight off as they say the election campaign which has been launched in Poland for the elections to the Sejm and senate, scheduled for 4 June.

Several issues of GAZETA WYBORCZA, published by "Solidarity," have already appeared. The editorial office does not conceal its satisfaction: "The action of collecting signatures for the 'Solidarity' candidates is taking place more successfully than expected." The new trade union has gained the opportunity to appear with its own programs on television and radio. I saw a program on a meeting in Gdansk between L. Walesa and voters and candidate deputies and senators. He himself does not intend to run for parliament because he believes himself to be unprepared for it. His statements about those who understand political struggle as street riots and orgies are worthy of attention. "In Poland," L. Walesa said at a recent press conference, "there is a large group of anarchists acting under the slogan 'down with Communism!' What are they offering? Nothing. They are helping those who do not want reforms. They can only shout."

But what can the opposition itself offer voters, what is the election program of its candidate deputies? "Our aim is the people's sovereignty, the country's independence, and the improvement of the republic," the document of the "Solidarity" Citizens' Committee says. "We shall achieve it through methods of legal activity and political parliamentary struggle." The restructuring of the state, it announces further, should be based on a new constitution which accords with the Poles' democratic traditions, which implements the ideas of citizens' freedom and equality irrespective of their nationality and religious, political, and other convictions, and which guarantees the people's sovereignty and methods of exercising power approved by society.

Of course, all this is right and good but does not differ greatly from what opposition members like to call "regime policy." It is not for nothing that M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, speaking at the national party conference, said that the opposition cannot offer a program more interesting and attractive than that with which the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is coming out. The opposition is strong in fine-sounding general phrases, but when it comes to specifics it turns out that the election campaign it is proclaiming has in its most essential points been almost wholly transcribed from party and government documents.

I deliberately began my story about the main event in Poland in May—the election campaign which has unexpectedly animated the country's political life—with "Solidarity." Everything now connected with it helps us to understand better what is taking place and to see that it is not as simple as it may appear to implement the national concord which realistically minded Poles are seeking. The last thing it means is a state of serenity because society is too diverse. The state of affairs in the country remains complex and contradictory.

The election campaign which has been launched on a new basis is called on to become a touchstone for the nascent parliamentary democracy to which some people add the word "socialist" while others prefer not to use any epithet. In its election declaration adopted at the party conference the PZPR stresses: "Our aim is the formation in Poland of a democratic, socialist, political system. Its basic element will be the parliament—the supreme power in the state. The party will start to influence the state's policy through its deputies in the Sejm, senate, and people's councils."

What is the party fighting for? For the democratic principles of the division of power into legislative, executive, and independent power. For the expansion of the rights of local and labor self management. For the development of the public organizations and their genuine influence on the course of life. For leading posts to be held by the most capable and qualified people. For trade union pluralism, the reform of the law, and the protection of the interests of citizens who live by their labor. The new constitution should crown the Polish reforms.

A television reporter conducted an ingenious experiment on the streets of Warsaw. He asked passers by one and the same question: "We are for citizens' free public expression of their views and convictions." In your opinion, whose program is this taken from? In reply he heard: "Solidarity's"; "some independent group's"; "It's obviously from the Catholics' program." What was the surprise of the passers by when they were told: "It is from the PZPR program."

What can the alternative to this program be? Only the program which appears in black and white under the rubric "Hyde Park" in GAZETA WYBORCZA: "Long live capitalism! Decent, liberal capitalism. At the forthcoming elections, vote for the grouping which is openly and directly seeking capitalism." And there is an indication of who is urging this: the "union of real politics." Is there any need for commentary?

Hardly. But it is nevertheless perhaps necessary to add that the "union" was founded a couple of years ago by one J. Korwin-Mikke, who wanted to unite in it representatives of various groupings—from liberals to monarchists. He dreams of "the restoration of capitalism"—and that says it all. Hence his appeal: Janos Korwin-Mikke must be a senator! Only conservative liberalism can be the antidote to socialism."

The opposition forces in the country have decided to gamble on the senate, to seek to ensure that there are as many of their people as possible in this chamber of parliament. After all, as the Polish newspapers write, the senate will have the opportunity to reject any draft laws

which the opposition considers do not accord with its spirit. For a law to be passed the Sejm needs two-thirds, or 66.6 percent, of the votes to be for it. How is that to be achieved if 35 percent of deputy seats in the Sejm are to be held, by agreement, by the opposition? So it is of course theoretically possible when necessary to paralyze and block the passing of any law. It is not surprising therefore that such a keen struggle is already under way for votes.

Naturally, everyone here is interested by the question. What is the position of the bishops and entire Catholic Church with regard to the election campaign? Is the church behaving in a new way under the new conditions? While verbally remaining neutral toward politics, in fact the church is displaying unusual activeness. Here it gives its sympathies to the opposition. As evidence I shall cite a quotation from a reportage in the weekly POLITYKA about a trip to Suwalki, where "Solidarity" candidates B. Geremek, the historian, and A. Wajda, the movie producer, are running:

"A May morning. A service is under way in one of the churches. The local 'Solidarity' candidates—Professor S. Bernatowicz and history teacher J. Pietkiewicz—have come here with guests from Warsaw. The meeting was led by the priest, who instructed the believers on how to act on election day: 'Remember that only these four names should be left on the ballot paper. The others must be crossed out.'

"After the Warsaw guests, teacher J. Pietkiewicz took the floor. 'Our economy is going downhill,' he announced gloomily. 'Drug addiction and alcoholism—that is the result of the paradise on earth which they have been building in Poland for over 40 years. Soviet intervention and atheism are entirely to blame.'

" 'It's a pity,' a peasant remarked, 'that Wajda won't help us apply superphosphates to the potatoes...'"

In citing this quotation I want to stress that it is not only this church—many other churches in the country have now also become agitation centers for the opposition.

One state of the election campaign—the registration of candidate deputies and senators—has ended. There are more of them than ever: From 5 to 10 or more people are running for each seat in parliament. The competition is unprecedented and the rivalry is very keen. It is complicated not only by the fact that candidates simply have to please their voters and "present themselves." In contrast to previous elections, expenses must now be borne by the candidates themselves although, of course, they can be helped. Thus, for instance, the PZPR announced beforehand the creation of an election fund and asked its members and organizations for assistance.

As for "Solidarity," it has again appealed to the West for financial aid and has been highly successful. Apart from substantial money receipts (mainly from the United States), the "Solidarity" Citizens' Committee has been given support by major specialists in election campaigns. Thus, two French advertising experts have arrived in Poland: Zh. Sekela [name as published], who took part in organizing President F. Mitterrand's election campaign, and T. Sose [name as published], who helped J. Chirac.

I see in the lists of candidates representing the party active and popular figures like Professor S. Kwiatowski, director of the now famous center for the study of the Poles' public opinion; PZPR Central Committee Secretary L. Miller; television journalist G. Wozniak; and R. Moryc, chairman of the federation of miners' trade unions. Among the nonparty candidates, M. Kotanski, the well known psychologist and leader of the movement struggling against drug addiction, is taking voters by storm, so to speak. Also very popular is the nonparty leader of the television and radio committee, J. Urban. W. Jaruzelski is not on the lists of candidate Sejm deputies. Professor J. Reykowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, answering questions on television, said that W. Jaruzelski will be nominated for the post of Polish president.

There are forces which would still like a confrontationist struggle and a heated social atmosphere. The draft law "on the protection of the rights of the unborn child," that is, simply, on the banning of abortion, has also become a subject of the election struggle. In Warsaw there have been demonstrations against this draft law, submitted mainly by men and in their majority from Catholic circles, restricting women's rights, and casting society back to the middle ages.

The election campaign is gathering momentum.

Soviet Military Official Receives Polish Writers

PM1705154589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting With Polish Writers"]

[Text] On 11 May Lieutenant General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, received a group of Polish writers who fought at the front. R. Zhetelskiy [name as published], first secretary at the Polish Embassy in the USSR; Major General V. Yakimov, chief of the Main Political Directorate Culture and Arts Department; and Yu. Vinogradov, executive secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Military Literature Commission; took part in the meeting.

During their trip to our country the Polish writers will meet with the servicemen of several garrisons and visit the USSR Defense Ministry Military Publishing House.

Tasks of New SFRY Presidency Detailed

PM1705152989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch under the general heading "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment": "Yugoslavia: Federation's Presidium Formed"]

[Text] Belgrade—The composition of the new SFRY Presidency which will lead the country for the next 5 years has been ratified at a joint session of the two parliamentary chambers—the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. The new presidency has still not been elected in full: Two republics—Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina—have still not determined whom they are assigning to the presidency.

"To fight to defend sovereignty, and for the country's independence and integrity, to strengthen the power of the working class and all the working people, and the fraternity, unity, and equal rights of the peoples and ethnic groups, and to develop socialist society"—this was the oath taken by presidency members Nenad Bucin (Montenegro), Stipe Suvar (Croatia), Janez Drnovsek (Slovenia), Borisav Jovic (Serbia), Riza Sapundziju (Kosovo Autonomous Province), and Dragutin Zelenovic (Vojvodina Autonomous Province).

Janez Drnovsek heads the new presidency in accordance with the rotation of republics and provinces in operation in the SFRY. He is the youngest head of the collective presidency in Yugoslavia's history. On 17 May the doctor of economic sciences from Slovenia will be 39 years old. He will be in the post of president of the presidency for exactly a year, and then his duties will be taken over by the Serb B. Jovic—Drnovsek's present deputy—also for 12 months.

The local press is commenting widely on the process of the presidency elections, and its largely unusual composition. The elections took place in a new atmosphere brought about by the reforms which have begun in the country's political and economic system, in conditions of the democratization of society. For the first time the members of the supreme organ were elected in the republics and provinces from among several candidates. They were nominated and discussed in labor collectives and at assemblies in which many hundreds of thousands of working people took part. For example, the journal INTERVJU says, 1.5 million people discussed B. Jovic's nomination. In the Vojvodina Federal Assembly D. Zelenovic did not get an absolute majority of votes until the third round, while N. Bucin was elected by a direct ballot by Montenegro's voters. For the first time the candidate for president of the SFRY Presidency has been elected in his republic from two candidates in an election in which about 1.5 million people took part. Drnovsek was favored by 56 percent of the voters. But, the press notes, in those republics where adherents of the old methods of holding elections are strong, the broad public and working people were unable to have their say.

For the first time the leader of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will not be in the presidency's new formation (in a day or so S. Suvar, elected to the presidency from Croatia, will leave his party post). The aim is to separate the functions of the party, state, and economic apparatus. The mandate of Federation Presidency member will not now be given to the party's top leader.

People in Yugoslavia are hoping for specific measures from the supreme organ of power to bring society out of its most grave crisis. J. Drnovsek has acquainted mass media representatives with his program—in recent years he has been director of a Ljubljana bank, member of the LCY, and SFRY parliamentary deputy. His program largely coincides with the views of Ante Markovic, the leader of the Yugoslav Federal Government. Primarily—restoring balance to the economy, restructuring the economic mechanism, and being guided by the market and market relations, including in the financial sphere. In the subsequent 5 years—aiming for dinar convertibility, putting a stop to the futile "politicization" of the economy, and incoporating Yugoslavia more effectively in the international currency and financial market. Drnovsek advocates socialist competition in economic and political life, and Yugoslavia's close tie with European countries. He is sure that the normal development of the economy will lead to the elimination of political confrontation in society. The president of the new presidency promises to make every effort to successfully resolve the Kosovo problem, which, in his opinion, takes first place in society.

Asked about how he sees Yugoslavia at the end of the century, J. Drnovsek answered at a news conference:

"A democratic country with an independent and fair political system. A country which, besides the nonaligned movement, is included also in other international associations such as, for example, the European Council, a country which has its place in a single European market...."

So, there is a decade left before the end of the century. But today's realities, difficulties, and problems await the president from his first working day. Galloping inflation exceeded 500 percent in May. Almost every day there are price increases for foodstuffs and services, and electricity and gasoline prices are increasing excessively. The working people's living standards continue to fall. People are tired of the high cost of living and tension and are losing hope for the future. The country's collective leadership has the burden of grave responsibility.

Hungarian Legislature Session Ends Deliberations

PM1605093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session Has Ended"]

[Text] Budapest, 12 May—The routine session of the Hungarian State Assembly ended here today. During its

work the parliamentary deputies elected the new members of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and discussed changes to the country's constitution providing, inter alia, for a procedure for expressing no confidence in the government or its individual members. Changes in the civil code and decisions on certain questions connected with the activity of the country's state organs were adopted. A proposal was formulated at the session on further tasks for the Hungarian State Assembly commission on youth and sport affairs.

The deputies suggested that, when formulating its 3-year working program, the government take into account the basic positions of the speeches made at the session. A decision to abolish the 1953 law concerning the perpetuation of Stalin's memory was adopted unanimously.

On the last day of the session's work deputies' enquiries were examined.

PRAVDA Reviews Career of Hungary's Kadar

PM1705084689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov report: "A Whole Era in a Lifetime"]

[Text] Budapest, 14 May—The white stone building of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee on the banks of the Danube by the Margit bridge is often besieged by journalists. Press conferences regularly take place there. This time the hall on the top floor was overcrowded. The night before, Western colleagues were making characteristically up-to-the-minute predictions of Janos Kadar's departure from his post. And when the decision of the MSZMP Central Committee plenum to release J. Kadar, with recognition of his service, from his duties as chairman of the MSZMP and member of the Central Committee was announced, the questions at the press conference on the whole concerned this important event.

J. Kadar had not appeared in political forums for many months. It was officially announced that he had had an operation and was ill. In April, he spoke at the MSZMP Central Committee plenum. Members of the Central Committee and party members were shocked by the news of the serious decline in J. Kadar's health and the statement that he can no longer participate in political life. As the journalists were told, MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz had a preliminary consultation with J. Kadar, who will be 77 on 26 May, and only then was this necessary decision taken by the plenum. This was with his knowledge and approval, as can be seen from his letter to the MSZMP Central Committee.

Every party has its own experience in resolving cadre questions. Here too there can be no blind imitation. Very important tasks in creating a socialist rule-of-law state and learning to work in multiparty conditions, and in conditions where a greater part is played by the government, parliament, and social organizations, face the MSZMP. Party posts must be filled by people who are willing and able to protect the values of the MSZMP and socialism and vigorously look for ways out of economic and political difficulties.

In Janos Kadar's study in the MSZMP Central Committee there was a painting by a Soviet artist entitled "V.I. Lenin at the Chessboard."

"Of course, it's not a proper official portrait of the leader, but I like it. It's human, it's sincere," J. Kadar explained at one of our meetings.

He never went down beaten paths, he never thought along standard lines, he was never officious, and he did not stand on his dignity. Janos Kadar was swept to high level political activity by a wave formed at the 20th CPSU Congress and the era which began then. His consistent internationalism was apparent in everything.

It is not the done thing now to give categorical appraisals. But I think that J. Kadar is an outstanding Hungarian politician. The consolidation of the nation after the tragic fall of 1956 (on 1 May 1957 half a million people came out onto the streets of Budapest, welcoming the search for the Hungarian path to socialism), full cooperativization of the countryside taking into account the country's peculiar features, and the series of economic reforms are linked with his name. The MSZMP carried out all of this, working out a number of interesting and original methods which have general significance for the theory and practice of socialism. J. Kadar was always opposed to the imposition of "formulas," "evaluations," and "experience" from outside.

"The Hungarian and international public respects you as a politician," it says in the letter from the MSZMP Central Committee to J. Kadar, "who has fulfilled lasting service in the formulation of the Helsinki process, its subsequent representation, and the development of East-West dialogue.

"Hungarian Communists see Janos Kadar as a man who was at all times ready to reach an agreement in the interests of national reconciliation. They have not forgotten Hungary in the sixties and seventies, when it was regarded by Hungarian and international society as the pioneer of renewal."

Were there any mistakes? The Central Committee plenum stated clearly that objective difficulties and economic and political problems of the last one and a half decades were aggravated several times by wrong decisions. J. Kadar himself wrote in a letter to the MSZMP Central Committee: "I have worked in the proletarian movement for almost half a century. In my political

work I have perhaps allowed mistakes to happen. However, my every action was dictated by good intentions, and I considered the interests of the Hungarian people, the workers' movement, and the party to be of paramount importance."

In the letter he wishes all his compatriots, party members ,and the party leadership success in solving the complex tasks facing society and the MSZMP.

The processes of renewal which are now taking place in Hungary could not have crystallized or gained force and speed if such authoritative and influential politicians as J. Kadar had not foreseen them and fought for them in their time. And now when some representatives of the opposition and antisocialist forces make insulting and unfair remarks about the MSZMP and J. Kadar, they are thereby declaring themselves against the interests of their people.

Serious tests of stability are in prospect in Hungary. There will be another Central Committee plenum at the end of May. New plans for renewal are continuing to be worked out.

CSSR Responds to Hungary's Work Halt on Project

PM1705140389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "CSSR Government Stance"]

[Text] Prague, 16 May—The Czechoslovak Government reacted yesterday to the Hungarian Government's decision to halt work on the Hungarian side of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric center on the Danube for 2 months. This unilateral step by the Hungarian Government virtually signifies the end of the CSSR-Hungarian agreement on the construction of a joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian hydroelectric facility, CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes said on receiving the Hungarian ambassador to the CSSR. All the circumstances behind the Hungarian Government's decision were studied together before the agreement was signed, that is before construction began, and were clarified while the facility was being erected. The Hungarian side's decision has been made without consultation with the Czechoslovak side. The CSSR considers this act to be groundless and inexplicable both from the business and the international legal viewpoints. The CSSR Government insists that construction of the hydroelectric center be continued and completed in accordance with the agreement.

The unilateral cessation of work will do great damage, and that is why the Czechoslovak side reserves the right to demand restitution of costs in accordance with the agreement. The CSSR Government, the foreign minister stressed, is prepared to begin talks with the Hungarian Government with a view to finding a common way of successfully completing construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric center on the Danube.

PRAVDA Notes Romania-CSSR Talks in Prague

PM1805115989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Leaders' Meeting"]

[Text] The preservation of peace and security on the planet and the elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe is a cardinal problem of the day. This was pointed out during talks today between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and Nicolae Ceaucescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, who is in Prague on a working friendly visit.

The sides stressed that the international communist and workers movement is faced with quite new problems, with whose resolution the future of socialism and world progress are linked. This requires new approaches, scientific analysis of problems, and the development of interparty relations on the basis of equality and independence.

On the same day N. Ceaucescu had talks with CSSR President Gustav Husak.

Razumovskiy Receives CSSR Trade Union Official

PM1605092189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendly Conversation"]

[Text] On 12 May G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting with M. Zavadil, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Central Trade Union Council, who was in Moscow at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU]. During the friendly conversation there was an exchange of opinions on questions of the activity of party organs and trade unions in restructuring conditions.

S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, took part in the conversation.

GDR Naval Chief Comments on Visit to Leningrad

LD1705085389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] The official friendly visit to Leningrad of a detachment of ships of the GDR People's Navy ended today. In conversation with our correspondent, Vice Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, deputy minister of national defense and chief of GDR People's Navy, said:

[Begin Hoffmann recording] The visit shows strikingly the close ties of brotherhood in arms and friendship between our peoples, armies, and fleets. These close ties serve a single goal: the preservation of peace and the

permanent reliable defense of socialist gains. In accordance with the published new military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact countries and guided by the principle of sufficiency in self-defense, the USSR, GDR, and other Warsaw Pact member states adopted a decision to unilaterally cut their troops, hardware, and arms. For the GDR this means a cut in the National People's Army of 10,000 men, 600 tanks, and 50 aircraft by 1990, and a 10-percent decrease in defense spending.

Furthermore, the first Soviet units in the GDR are returning to their homeland. At the same time, 11,500 National People's Army soldiers during their 15-month compulsory service, will work in important national economic enterprises. All this is aimed at the well being of people, and again stresses the GDR's readiness to continue on a reciprocal basis the lessening of confrontation in Central Europe.

We support disarmament on the principle of equality and equal security with the constant lowering of the level of military potential until sudden attack is ruled out.

It is becoming ever clearer that growing naval weaponry and the presence of NATO naval forces in the world's oceans will be one of the future basic threats to peace. All this underlines the lofty responsibility in defending socialism which is still incumbent on the Warsaw Pact countries' fleets. We know very well that the solution of these tasks in the future too will only be possible in close cooperation with our brothers in arms of the glorious navy of the USSR and of other socialist fleets.

May our visit to Leningrad contribute to the further strengthening of the traditional unbreakable ties of friendship between us. [end recording]

West Europe

TASS Cites Mitterrand on Soviet Policy

LD1905085189 Moscow TASS in English 2241 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Paris May 19 TASS—France's dialogue with the Soviet Union is deepening and there exist already elements of confidence and not only as refers to Soviet-French relations, but also to the USSR's ties with many countries. This was said by French President Francois Mitterrand at a news conference here on Thursday.

The Soviet Union's course under Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership has brought about considerable changes in the country's home and foreign policy, Mitterrand said. The tone has changed, and possibilities for a dialogue, too, he added. The Soviet leadership should be wished success, the more so since its actions have already exerted effect in the area of disarmament, in various aspects of the military policy, the French president said.

Yazov Receives Turkish Deputy Chief of Staff

LD1805143189 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Army General Kaya Yazgan [name as received], first deputy chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, was received today by Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet minister of defence. The talk concerned issues of mutual interest.

Kaya Yazgan is paying an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Colonel-General Bronislav Omelichev, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

"Our states are neighbours, therefore, we should live in peace and concord", Yazov stressed. "In other case, our children and grandchildren will grow up as enemies. This does not benefit either the USSR or Turkey. We should restore those good neighbourly Soviet- Turkish relations which existed between the two countries under Lenin and Ataturk."

General Yazgan concurred with the stance of the Soviet defence minister, "We would also like to restore good and kind relations with your country and the people. Contacts between military men will help overcome mistrust and will promote mutual understanding".

General Yazgan conferred with Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and also held talks with Colonel-General Omelichev.

The guest from Turkey visited Vladimir Lenin's Mausoleum and laid a wreath. The wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall.

General Yazgan visited the Mikhail Frunze Military Academy, one of the oldest in the USSR Armed Forces. It is the main educational establishment to train highly qualified officers for land troops. The Turkish military leader familizarized himself with the organisation of the educational process and the class-and-laboratory base of the academy.

In the latter half of the day Colonel-General Omelichev gave a dinner in honour of Army General Kaya Yazgan.

President Vasiliou Wants Neutral Cyprus

NC1705185889 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1700 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] In an interview with a Radio Moscow correspondent, President Yeoryios Vasiliou stated that we want Cyprus to be truly demilitarized and neutral. Referring to the current phase of the intercommunal talks, Vasiliou said that an effort should be made to prepare a preliminary plan of agreement based on basic principles. Preparing a preliminary plan is not easy because there is a significant difference in positions between both sides.

Yet we go to the talks with all good intentions and with a strong desire to promote a solution, the president stressed. Vasiliou also stressed that most of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot parties accepted the Czechoslovak patriotic front's invitation to party leaders to go to that country to hold talks and at the same time study how the Czechoslovak federation works. This is a very significant development, the president said, because for the first time the political leaders of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots have the opportunity to hold comfortable talks and understand how the other party thinks.

In his interview, Yeoryios Vasiliou expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for the help and support it gives Cyprus and supported the further development of relations between our countries.

Spanish Defense Minister Interviewed
PM1805151989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Spanish Defense Minister N. Serra "obtained especially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" by APN own correspondent Igor Nemira in Madrid: "N. Serra: 'I Want to Begin a Dialogue'"—no date of interview given; first four paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] A long, wide corridor leads to the Spanish defense minister's office. Battle standards, already somewhat ravaged by the passage of time, stand as if to attention inside glass-fronted cabinets, with old weapons hanging on the walls.

A somewhat stocky man rose from behind a large desk, with a portrait of King Juan Carlos on the wall behind him, and offered me his hand.

The minister said that he was pleased with the chance to visit Moscow and Leningrad for the first time in his life. In response to my rejoinder that the time of "white nights" is now coming to the city on the Neva, N. Serra started asking about this natural phenomenon. The minister mentioned several details from the program for his forthcoming visit to the USSR, noting that he would find it interesting to visit the Taman Division and to speak at the K.Ye. Voroshilov General Staff Military Academy. He asked me what the Russian expression was for "Estrella Roja," in other words "Red Star."

N. Serra had prepared his answers to the newspaper's questions in advance. [passage omitted]

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How do you perceive the importance of personal contacts between defense ministers of states belonging to different military blocs?

[Serra] I think that, in addition to international forums at which representatives of different countries work for the sake of security and cooperation, it is also useful for the ministers responsible for defense to have an opportunity to exchange opinions in order to achieve mutual understanding and to deepen the line of political actions along the avenue of creating a state of equilibrium, in which confidence-building measures can gradually squeeze out weapons systems. So that we can all have peace throughout the world.

It was during the sixties that the Belgian Professor Harmel promoted the idea of defensive doctrine which, in my view, has not lost its topicality to this day. According to Harmel, the ideas of defense and deterrence are fully compatible with the ideas of disarmament and detente.

The establishment of personal contacts seems to me exceptionally useful. Mutual acquaintance, willingness to understand different points of view, and the perception of different realities must be the components of ministers' missions when they come in contact with their colleagues from other countries.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What will be your objective when you set off on your visit to Moscow?

[Serra] Mainly to begin a dialogue on security questions with my Soviet colleague Yazov, to see for myself the USSR's defense structures "in situ," and to exchange opinions on the problems of the need to bring the forces of East and West into equilibrium at the lowest possible level of armaments.

Since this will be my first visit to the USSR and my first official contact with your country's leadership, it will provide a suitable opportunity to exchange opinions on the evolution of policy in the Soviet Union and Spain over the last few years, and on the new course which international relations are now following in their successful development.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What is your view on the changes occurring in East-West relations? What is Spain's role in the process of easing military tension in Europe and the world?

[Serra] It seems highly positive to me that now we all have agreed to move in the direction of a state of equilibrium. This is very important for the present climate of complete elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. We express the wish and hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will soon reach agreement on a 50-percent reduction of their present arsenals of strategic missiles.

The agreement in principle on the complete elimination of chemical weapons, reached in Paris, is also promising. I hope that it will be possible to reach a sensible agreement in Vienna on the question of conventional arms. True enough, the Atlantic alliance's proposals on conventional arms do not coincide with the Soviet Union's proposals, but I think that these differences could be overcome as the result of dialogue.

I believe that the process now under way is very important in order to prevent the hopes of our countries' citizens being dashed. They expect us political leaders to provide solutions aimed at consolidating the new period of security in the world.

Spain is one of Europe's medium-sized countries, but it is also bound by a commitment to the intended advance along the path of creating a safer world in which, as I already mentioned, confidence-building measures will squeeze out weapons systems. Spain is committed to this objective and works for its sake at all international forums.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It is well known that the country's present leadership came to power under the banner of withdrawal from NATO. What, in your opinion, forced the government to change its viewpoint?

[Serra] This is by no means the case. The Socialist Party to which I belong waged a campaign of publicly exposing the procedure for bringing Spain into NATO, as proposed by the previous government. This did not mean "no" to the bloc, it meant "no" to the way it was done. When the Socialist Party came to power as a result of its victory in the October 1982 elections, it froze the process of joining NATO in order to study the situation afresh and submit a new proposal to a national referendum. The Spanish people approved it in the March 1986 referendum, which essentially said "yes" to the Atlantic alliance, but outside its military structure. This means that our armed forces will not come under the allied command, we will not be part of the territorial military structure, and all military tasks performed by us will be set not by the allied command but by the Spanish authorities in coordination with the Atlantic alliance command.

In conclusion, let me say that we have opted for an original model of integration, which is most suitable for both Spain and Europe in present-day conditions.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Spain consented not to ban the entry to its ports of U.S. warships with nuclear weapons on board. Does it not seem to you that this provision contradicts to a certain extent the country's nuclear-free status?

[Serra] According to the parliament's sovereign decision, which was later backed by the Spanish people in the 1986 referendum, Spain is a nuclear-free country. Having thus expressed its will, our country later joined the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, despite the fact that we perceive that treaty as relatively unbalanced. Because it only prohibits horizontal proliferation—in other words it raises obstacles preventing the expansion of the nuclear club. At the same time the nuclear powers, and the two largest in particular, expanded vertical proliferation by increasing the quantity of systems after the treaty was signed. Spain nevertheless believes that joining the treaty enhances its importance.

Spain's stance in this regard is perfectly clear. This is why I disagree with your formulation of the question. My country did not pledge not to check the presence of nuclear weapons on board ships entering Spanish ports. Just like any other country, it always has the right to carry out such checks. But, proceeding from the necessary solidarity with its allies, Spain does not enquire about the presence of nuclear weapons on these ships. But the waiver of enquiry does not mean the waiver of checks.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] A number of recent steps testify to Madrid's desire to strengthen military ties with its allies, notably along Western European Union [WEU] lines. Does this not contradict the new trends in Europe, aimed at achieving a climate of mutual understanding in the continent?

[Serra] Spain's membership of the Atlantic alliance and the WEU does not contradict our readiness to work for the sake of detente and mutual understanding on the continent.

Spain joined the Atlantic alliance because it perceives this to be the most suitable solution for our security policy, a solution in harmony with the nature and the European calling of our foreign policy.

On the other hand, the Atlantic alliance, being a union of democratic and free countries, elaborated a long time ago a doctrine incorporating detente and arms control as the foundations of security policy.

The establishment of this policy of universal European security is the essence of the activity and objectives of the WEU which you mentioned. The WEU does not have a joint command of its armed forces, but is rather a forum for debates and discussions by foreign and defense ministers of its member countries.

New Italian Envoy Presents Credentials

LD1805165889 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—The new Italian ambassador to the Soviet Union, Ferdinando Sallao, assured today Soviet First Vice- President Anatoliy Lukyanov that he would promote in all ways Italian-Soviet cooperation.

The envoy remarked that he would give special attention to trade and economic relations, areas marked by substantial change and having good prospects.

Sallao presented his credentials to Lukyanov in the Kremlin today.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its President Mikhail Gorbachev, Lukyanov stressed the Soviet Union's invariable striving towards deeper cooperation with Italy.

He observed that Europe is taking on a new shape, turning ever more towards disarmament and cooperation.

The results of the Vienna meeting on security and cooperation in Europe have imparted a new quality to the all-European process and help strengthen security and development of fruitful interaction and improve the political climate in Europe and the world as a whole.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Interviewed on Private Life

LD1805194489 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Follows the full text of Mikhail Gorbachev's answers to questions from a correspondent of NEWS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE journal, published in its fifth issue:

Correspondent: Mikhail Sergeyevich, our numerous readers ask you to speak in a greater detail about yourself, about your parents.

Gorbachev: I must say I receive such lettters, too. First of all, I would like to say that now, in conditions of glasnost, a lot of information is issued about the activity of the supreme bodies of the party and the state, of their leaders, the way it has never been done before. Speeches of leaders, their tours of the country, meetings and conversations with the working people have become characteristic of public life. Due to this, Soviet people, at least those of them who are interested, have an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the work of the country's leaders, to learn about their stand on some or other matters, to judge of their political, business and personal qualities.

As to the essence of your question, what can I add to the things that have already been published?

I was born and grew up in a peasant family, in the Stavropol territory. My parents and grandparents were peasants. My maternal grandfather, Panteley Yefimovich, was one of the organisers of partnerships for joint working of the land, and later of collective farms, and was chairman of a collective farm for many years. My father, Sergey Andreyevich, and mother, Mariya Panteleyevna, also worked on the land—first in their own peasant economy, then in a partnership for joint working of the land, still later in a collective farm and at a machine and tractor station.

My father worked as a machine operator for 40 years. He fought in the Great Patriotic War as a combat engineer. He fought at the Kursk Bulge, was liberating Kharkov and Kiev, and received his first combat award, medal for valour, for the crossing of the Dnieper. At the end of the war he was wounded in the fighting near Kosice, Czechoslovakia, and underwent medical treatment in Krakow. He joined the party during the war. He was decorated with orders. Compatriots respected my father for diligence, modesty, responsiveness. I am proud of my father.

Just as all peasant children I had to start working on land at the young age. From the age of 13 I had started working in a collective farm from time to time and worked as an assistant combine operator from the time I was 15. Altogether, I worked for five years at a machine and tractor station, combining my studies with work in the field.

The atmosphere and entire mode of life of a peasant family, joint work with adults from a young age, naturally influenced the moulding of my character and development of a point of view in life. I graduated from school successfully and was enrolled at the law department of Moscow University in 1950.

All the five years of the studies at the university I was engaged in the Young Communist League's activities. While studying at the university I joined the Soviet Communist Party in 1952. I am grateful to Moscow University—to teachers, to the party and Komsomol organizations, to my friends, with many of whom I am still in touch, for helping me to study, for comradeliness and friendship. Those were the unforgettable years, the years without which I cannot imagine how my destiny would have shaped.

Correspondent: Mikhail Sergeyevich, can you speak at a greater detail about your family? How did it form and what does in mean in your life?

Gorbachev: I met Raisa Maximovna when I studied at the university. She was born in Siberia, in the city or Rubtsovsk, the Altay territory. Her parents worked in the railway transport. After graduating from school with a gold medal, she entered the philsophy department of Moscow University. We met in 1951, married in 1953 and have been together ever since.

After graduating the university we worked in the Stavropol territory, on my native land. It so happened that I did not work in my profession for long. I was soon recommended for work in the Young Communist League, and I have been in Komsomol and party work since then. Over many years I worked with the territorial committee of the party, including almost nine years as first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party territorial committee. Those were also significant and important years in our life.

As I had to deal much with agricultural matters, I took a correspondence course at the economy department of an agricultural institute and graduated from it. This proved to be a good supplement to my education as a jurist.

Raisa Maximovna taught at higher educational establishments, wrote and defended a candidate's thesis about the life of collective farm peasantry, became an assistant professor. She has been teaching philosophy altogether for over 20 years, worked with students, participated in the activity of "Znaniye" society.

Our daughter Irina was born in Stavropol. She grew up, studied and got married there. Our daughter and her husband are medics. Irina is a candidate of sciences,

assistant researcher at a department of a medical institute. Anatoliy is an assistant professor, a surgeon. He has been working for nine years at a Moscow city hospital, has defended a thesis on vascular surgery. Our two granddaughters, Kseniya and Anastasiya, were born in Moscow.

Raisa Maximovna is now engaged in public affairs and in protocol functions as the wife of president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I must say that my present obligations are a serious responsibility not only for myself but also for my family, and I appreciate the understanding, assistance and support that I am given by Raisa Maximovna and all the members of our family.

Correspondent: Mikhail Sergeyevich, the letters addressed to our journal contain questions about your spare time. How do you organise your working day? There are also questions about your living and working conditions, your salary, author's fees, etc. Can you give answers to these questions?

Gorbachev: Since such matters interest readers, I must give answers. The question about my routine is a difficult one. My routine is determined by the time in which we live and by the tasks now faced by our society and, certainly, by the obligations of leaders of the party and state. Except for a few hours that are spent on sleep, all my time is given to my work, whether I am staying at the Central Committee, at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or at home. And I must admit that my attention is concentrated on work even when I am on leave.

Now about the salary. My salary is 1,200 roubles per month, just as that of any member of the Politburo, regardless of the posts. The salary of alternate members of the Politburo is 1,100 roubles, of secretaries of the Central Committee, 1,000 roubles. All the author's fees for the publication of reports and speeches go to the party budget.

I must mention particularly the author's fees for the book "Perestroyka and New Thinking" since that book was commissioned by one of the American publishers and was circulated in nearly 100 countries in a rather large impress, over two million copies. As it was reported by the press, as the fees arrive, I post them to the party budget or for other social purposes. Part of the fees was sent to the funds of relief to those who suffered from the quakes in Armenia and Tajikistan, to the Soviet Culture Foundation, for the construction of the monument to Vasiliy Terkin, and for the foundation of a new children's park in Moscow.

As to the housing conditions, we have a flat in the city. Taking into consideration the nature of work, members of the country's leadership have the use of state-owned country houses. Neither I nor the members of my family ever had or have privately-owned country houses anywhere. The country house that was put at the disposal of general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for the discharge of his duties is equipped with appropriate services. There are premises for the holding, if needed, of meetings of the Politburo, of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for meetings with leaders of other states. There are a study and a library at the country house, communication facilities with most up-to-date communication systems. There are also other technical facilities, necessary for the discharge of the functions of chairman of the country's Defence Council. A number of the premises are used by the family.

The Central Committee and the government also have at their disposal special buildings in which distinguished guests from abroad are received or which are used for other representation purposes.

It has now been decided to put a number of state-owned mansions and country houses, including those in the Crimea, on the Black Sea coast, at the disposal of the health services to be used for the rest of children and veterans, or at the disposal of cultural establishments and other organisations.

As to transportation facilities, this is also connected with obligations entrusted to me. I recall a certain situation in this connection. After delivering an address at the United Nations in New York, I set out for a meeting with President Reagan and the then Vice-President Bush to the Governors Island. We were travelling in our cars, one of which contained communications facilities. Then in our cars we were travelling by a ferry. And when we were on the ferry, a telephone call came from Moscow. It was Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov calling. He told me about the tragedy that befell Armenia. We agreed at once on the setting up of a Politburo commission and on urgent measures. Thus, no matter where I am staying, I can establish communication with any part of the country, can get in touch with Soviet representatives abroad and with leaders of other countries.

Correspondent: Mikhail Sergeyevich, if you have spare time, what occupations do you prefer? This question is often asked in letters from our readers.

Gorbachev: I try to use in full measure the rare hours of rest. I have varied interests. I enjoy reading belles-lettres, I like theatre, music, cinema. I enjoy most of all taking a walk in a forest. But I must admit that I have such an opportunity ever more rarely.

Correspondent: Mikhail Sergeyevich, let me express gratitude to you on behalf of the journal's readers for all that you have told me. I hope that in future you will agree to answer other questions from our readers.

Gorbachev: I think such conversations can be held in future, too. I take this opportunity to wish the readers of the NEWS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE all the best in their lives and success in their work at this complex but very interesting stage of our history.

Press 'Distortion' of Facts on Tbilisi Admitted

PM1905080989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[G. Lebanidze, O. Losoto report: "United in Grief and Joy: Our Correspondents' Report from Tbilisi Yesterday"]

[Text] Tbilisi in May is usually particularly sharp and beautiful, warm and alive. The city's inhabitants always wait impatiently for the luscious awakening of nature. However, surprisingly no matter whom you ask today, they will invariably answer: Somehow I did not notice when the best time of the year set in! Why? Because its arrival was overshadowed and obliterated by the grief and pain of the tragedy which occurred at dawn on 9 April.

Yes, on that day 19 people died, mostly old or very young women, and more than 300 people are still being treated for gas poisoning. We are convinced that in the near future the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet commissions which are currently at work will make their pronouncement and ensure justice for everyone who was involved in this tragedy. At present all the circumstances of what happened are being investigated by the Georgian Prosecutor's Office, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and a special investigation group of the military prosecutor's office. There is no doubt of the fact that the culprits will have to face the law and will incur severe punishment.

Not only justice, human conscience also demands this. The Georgian people demand this. But is it only they? Today you only have to pay a visit to leading republic organizations, local newspaper editorial offices, ministries, departments, social organizations, and creative unions and you will see hundreds and even thousands of letters which have arrived from all parts of the country and the world expressing condolences in connection with the tragedy which has befallen Georgia and categorically demanding that the culprits be brought to book.

One not unimportant detail must be mentioned here. A certain section of the Georgian public has expressed entirely justified dissatisfaction with the coverage of the 9 April tragic events in Georgia by the central press. Inaccuracies arose as a result of inefficient work by the republic information services, a certain atmosphere of confusion, nervousness, and fear "lest too much be said," the "secretiveness" of certain facts, and sometimes outright distortion of the actual situation. How can one accept the report that people fell victim "to the crush which arose," that allegedly troop subunits strictly followed the instruction not to use weapons, and that precautionary measures were taken to protect women and youngsters especially.

What is one to make, for instance, of the attempt to cover up the use of chemical agents! PRAVDA managed to report this, albeit with a delay of several days (incidentally, it was the first central newspaper to do so), making use of a videorecording of a statement for Georgian television by a representative of the internal forces that was not broadcast, in which he admitted the use of "tear-gas-type" substances. I. Menagarishvili, Georgian minister of health, noted that it was only at the beginning of May that it was learned from a statement from the military prosecutor's office that, among other means, "CS" gas, commonly employed during the dispersal of demonstrations, was used. This delay in making information available caused passions to run high, not to mention the fact that it hampered the treatment of the people suffering from poisoning. At the same time, we are deeply convinced that now, when the reports on what occurred must be highly accurate and must be verified to the last detail, the mass media must refrain from drawing rash conclusions and engaging in conjectures which hamper the investigation and stir up and disorient public opinion.

The soul of the people, its greatness and depth are revealed in particular in extreme situations of this kind, in grim trials and adversity. The Georgian people did not withdraw into their grief. They are trying to overcome it. Their love of life and irrepressible strength of spirit are triumphing. Not even the blind force of the elements which decided once again to test their strength, letting loose avalanches and mud slides in mountainous Adzhariya, where dozens of people perished and thousands were made homeless, not even the elements could make these people flinch.

We have mentioned the homeless. But no, they are not homeless! Their compatriots did not abandon them to their troubles. New villages are being built as a matter of urgency, and meanwhile more than 4,000 families who were affected have been treated with kindness and provided with a roof over their heads.

An unusual drought has hit eastern Georgia. Parched land stretches as far as the eye can see over many tens of thousands of hectares, bare land, withered vines, fields, and valleys. Again, people have joined the struggle with the elements, city dwellers have hastened to the assistance of the inhabitants of the villages hit by the disaster.

There is no denying that tremendous damage has been inflicted on the economy. Especially on quality viticulture—the main sector of this region, which, naturally,

further exacerbated the already strained economic situation. The Georgian public and a number of social organizations, including the highly prestigious Rustaveli Society, are voicing justified concern at the state of the economy.

As N. Chitanava, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, recently noted at an expanded session of the Council of Ministers, Georgia's economy is in a state of profound and protracted crisis. The new principles of economic reform—self-financing and cost recovery—despite meeting with support, are being put into practice extremely slowly. The session discussed how these and other shortcomings which are hampering the process of renewal and impeding the progress of restructuring could be eliminated, making it possible to pull the republic out of the crisis and ensuring its economic sovereignty.

During the current intensive spiritual, political, and social life in Georgia, the people's increased self-awareness, return to historical roots, and careful attitude toward national spiritual and cultural assets are particularly noticeable. Recently the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau decided, on the basis of the public's proposals, to mark 26 May as the day of the restoration of Georgia's statehood. A decision has been adopted on the conservation of the unique David Garedzhi monastery complex as a monument of Christian culture.

The republic government has handed more than 100 places of worship to the Georgian Orthodox Church recently. Former historic names are being restored to a number of cities and rayons, and an outline plan for the establishment of a national Georgian school is being elaborated. A Georgian Communist Party Central Committee decision endorsing the proposal of the Tbilisi State University learned council to name this major center of national culture after Ivane Dzhavakhishvili has been published.

This step, Academician T. Gamkrelidze, the well-known scientist and USSR people's deputy, noted, is not just a ceremonial gesture. It is the first step toward the achievement of autonomy by our university. The university was created by the people who entrusted this noble mission to Ivane Dzhavakhishvili.

The Georgian Foreign Ministry has increased its work in the development of all forms of international cooperation.

Other details and examples of measures implemented here with a view to expanding the republic's sovereignty could be cited.

G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke to us about this and much else:

"Despite the complex situation, the main thing now is not to be afraid of dialogue but to conduct it frankly and in principled fashion, avoid creating problems in human relations, and be able to find a common language. There must be no dearth of thoughts, ideas, actions, and trust. Generally speaking, there are more than enough problems. We will try to resolve them jointly with the broad involvement of the public."

You can't ask a Georgian: "Are you in the mood for a song?" He sings in grief and in joy. Isn't the famous "Lileo" a hymn of life, although it is also sung on funeral days? During the night of 8-9 April at Government House people were also singing. Their song was cut short by the unprecedented tragedy. Yet immediately a new song was born, devoted to... human kindness and love. Yes, yes, this is how the incredibly kind hearts of the outstanding lyrical poet Moris Potskhishvili and composer Dzhemal Sepiashvili have responded to the misfortune by creating a hymn affirming life—"Give Each Other Tulips..." Its premiere took place during the days of mourning, it was sung by 60 of the republic's best singers, and soon it was picked up by the whole of Georgia.

United in grief,
Together in joy,
We will fill people's hearts
With faith in life and song.

Pioneers' Paper Retracts Item on Tbilisi Events
PM1805114589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 May 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Concerning a Press Item"]

[Text] A dispatch by TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov, entitled "April, Tbilisi, Prospekt Shota Rustaveli...." and published by PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA 27 April, caused indignation among working people and the entire public in our republic. Written with bias and containing a whole series of factual mistakes, the dispatch grossly distorted the real course of events which occurred outside Government House on the night of 8-9 April and misinformed its young readers.

Our republic's mass media expressed their sharply negative attitude toward this press item. It was only natural that GRUZINFORM staffers also deemed it their duty to send a statement to the TASS leadership.

On 6 May, under the rubric "Returning to a Topic," PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA published a retraction, whose text we publish in full:

"Our newspaper's 27 April 1989 issue carried an article entitled 'April, Tbilisi, Prospekt Shota Rustaveli....' whose author was introduced as a TASS correspondent. As a matter of fact, journalist Vladimir Yegorov, who really is a TASS correspondent, was writing as a private individual in this case. His dispatch was not transmitted

on TASS lines. Responsibility for the published item lies with the author and the newspaper's editorial office. It was established that the article's author, V. Yegorov, was on official business in Tbilisi 13-19 April, and the newspaper material was prepared on the basis of meetings with participants in and eyewitnesses of the events, news conferences, and videotape recordings. He himself was not an eyewitness to the tragic events which occurred in Tbilisi on the night of 8-9 April; the article contains mistakes. The item was discussed at a session of the newspaper's editorial collegium and those responsible for it have been punished.

"The PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office offers apologies for publishing the article by journalist V. Yegorov."

Plutnik Reflects on Political Struggle in Elections
PM1805110289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[A. Plutnik article: "Answers and Questions: Subjective Observations on the End of the Election Campaign"]

[Text] We are often unable to make a good suit of clothes, even from excellent material. You realize this with annoyance whenever you go into a ready-made clothing store. I also reflected on it repeatedly during the days of the long-drawn-out election campaign, as I watched television debates between contenders for the title of people's deputies. Will we be able to make something worthy of ourselves and of our time from still scarce "materials" like democratization, the growing openness of society, and widening glasnost? Or will the result here too be something suitable only for the most unfastidious taste?

One can hardly fail to notice that as the Congress of People's Deputies approaches the atmosphere in society is becoming increasingly heated and there is a sense of growing impatience, sometimes verging on open irritation or even annoyance. At a Moscow fair, for instance, I saw a banner which, incidentally, soon disappeared, which read: "Let us close ranks and the waiting lines will be shorter"... As long as we do not end up by using up all the glasnost and openness, in the way that they sometimes use up strictly rationed stainless steel making knives and metal rods that adolescents arm themselves with for fighting.

The political struggle is being waged before our very eyes, and it must be said that we watch it with absorption, especially if it is shown on television. There is the kind of intrigue you find in a "racy" detective story. There is the passion and unpredictability you find in a tense sports match. Into the bargain, it is real life. And as you watch you experience all kinds of feelings, sometimes contradictory: pride that such enormous intellectual potential exists in our society, coupled with surprise that it is virtually unexploited. Many of those who set forth their views on our life on screen are people we did not know before. We are seeing them for the first time. Depending on who was presenting what program and how he answered the questions, I, for instance, was gripped first by a firm confidence in our future, and then by growing anxiety.

The spectrum of views represented was so wide that it was if anything more perplexing than impressive. The thought sprang to mind: While concealing it, so to speak, from ourselves, we are apparently moving toward what we tried so hard, before, to avoid, what we always shunned. Namely, the contenders for deputies' seats represented not simply all social strata and groups, but also different platforms. Their programs (and to an even greater extent what they said in their answers to questions) differed not only in details, however important, but also in something far more essential—the approaches to the fundamental, key problems of our lives; the attitude toward social values, toward our past, present, and future.

It became quite clear that the assertions on some kind of general unity, general unanimity, with which we used to reassure ourselves and which we used to use to justify all important decisions without exception, are nothing but ideological hyperbole and, if you like, a propaganda bubble that burst instantly in the light of glasnost. I suppose that this also marked the defeat of the prolonged attempt to preserve inviolate this sacred corner of our former preconceptions by continuing to mislead the public.

It was confirmed again and again what an enormous asset true glasnost is to society. Without it we would still be able only to guess, as in the past, who is who. Now we know. We have heard from the people themselves, those who are of the greatest interest today. And we have seen for ourselves, among other things, that the notorious theorizing of Nina Andreyeva is mere childish prattle compared with certain utterances by speakers on the air.

But true glasnost means always being on the air. And thanks to this we now have a real picture of our public life, which today involves the active participation of high-minded dreamers, covert, and even overt, timeservers, inveterate lovers of left-wing phraseology, zealous guardians of dogmas old and new, ardent adherents of misinterpreted patriotic traditions, and committed opponents of all democratization incompatible with a "hard line." The extreme right and extreme left exist not only "over there," but here at home too. We were to some extent impoverished. We patently underestimated the full diversity of our public life, assuming even in our boldest generalizations a far narrower range of views and orientations.

We have seen a real cross section of our society, and we saw it with no statistical or sociological adjustments or assumptions at all. I do not suppose anyone will deny that the candidate deputies by no means represented only themselves. After passing through the filter of a

severe selection process and being nominated by large collectives, they brought to the union-wide platform much of what was being said during those days at meetings known and unknown, open and closed, in conversations between workers and peasants, at rallies of people's fronts and informal associations. They brought to the nationwide platform a seething political life that has never before, in the memory of several living generations, drawn into its whirlpool such a multiplicity of people as now. And this, incidentally, was a reflection of one of the undisputed achievements of restructuring. Millions of people shook off the dust of social apathy and cast off their idle indifference and inactivity because they sensed at long last that things now depend on their voice, on their opinion too.

Glasnost opened many people's eyes to many things. And it would be downright ingratitude and an unforgivable error on our part to begin now to silence some people, to stop some people's mouths. Such measures can only compromise the democratization process, which, naturally, would not benefit restructuring. If we are seriously in favor of pluralism of opinions, we must find the wisdom and peace of mind to assess even the most radical views. We will also have to accustom our ears to the kind of "terminology" that smells of political hysteria a mile off and the use of which, in past times, carried the risk of rapid organizational conclusions at best. You cannot stop everyone's mouth. And stopping even one mouth is clearly not in the spirit of the democratic principles that have already taken root in society.

What is most important of all is to know how to resist, how to change minds, how to "win people back," how to present a broader and, most importantly, more accurate picture of what your opponent uses to extract the benefits of wide attention. And to that end it is necessary to seriously analyze the very diverse picture of public life that has opened up before us. To realize that the polarization of forces is largely a fait accompli is only natural, incidentally, in any democratic society. And then, taking into account the groups and currents that actually exist in society, we will make the necessary amendments and adjustments to our unshakable course of restructuring and further democratization, in order to more boldly and resolutely follow the planned path, with a better knowledge, so to speak, of the condition of the ground and the atmosphere.

The election struggle showed clearly that those who can count on success in today's political life are first and foremost those who have a visible face, those who are personalities. The cult of facelessness, the cult of office, that characterized the period of stagnation are apparently becoming a thing of the past. There is an increased demand for vivid personalities and that is only natural. When stereotypes are discarded, when rote-learned truisms lose their former force, when there is a need to analyze reality and supply new ideas, then those who are capable of this come to the fore.

It is pleasing that the candidate people's deputies who took part in meetings with voters and television debates included a large group of real political leaders whose merits were visible, so to speak, to the naked eye, who are clearly public-spirited, erudite, and progressively minded, and know how to formulate their views accurately, express them clearly, and not become confused when addressing a large audience. By no means all of them, of course, were elected. But, having given an excellent account of themselves in the election struggle, they have earned the right, I would say, to form a cadre reserve for restructuring. It is very important not to allow them to disappear or sink without a trace. It must be taken into acccount that, perhaps for the first time in many decades, thanks to the new election system, hundreds of people, people whose names never figured on any nomenklatura lists, had the opportunity to try their skills in a new field, in an open, competitive selection process. And it would be downright bad cadre management to lose sight of political fighters and organizers who have displayed undoubted abilities.

There were also quite different people among the candidate deputies, people who are fierce and immoral, self-willed and profoundly ignorant, ready to move on beyond verbal extremism. Wishing to incite the masses, they have already taken the first step in that direction. They have incited themselves to a state approaching hysteria. By talking about the increasing anger and exploitation of the working class, they openly "aligned themselves," so to speak, with certain leaders at the oblast and rayon level who had already lost the elections and failed to receive a deputy's seat. They failed to rise above personal ambition or soothe their wounded self-esteem, and then convinced themselves and tried to convince others that they fell victim in the election struggle to a "conspiracy" of the intelligentsia, but that they are not worried about their own defeat so much as the low percentage of workers who won in the elections... That is sometimes the behavior of those nomenklatura champions of "working class interests" who have been rejected by the people, by restructuring, and who show flagrant irresponsibility, not to say political adventurism.

On learning about one such story I remembered a statement written recently by a leadership worker who was released "at his own request" from a post he held for 46 years: "Please regard my departure from my post as a great gift to restructuring." No, not everyone is prepared to make it such generous gifts...

Cries of panic about the disintegration of ideology were sometimes heard at rallies and in television debates. It seems that some people regard the renunciation of stereotypes and the old poverty of theory as "disintegration." Do some people perhaps cherish authoritarian, bureaucratic forms of rule? Do they cherish the times when the absence of the most elementary democratic norms was deemed to be the supreme form of democracy?

I noticed that in the past, even on the subject of communism that was promised by decree and that was to arrive, it was prescribed, "somewhere around" 1980, but was not on schedule even then. Passions did not rage as they do today, for instance, over the "Housing-2000" program (which was also reflected in the television debates). Although there is still time, it would seem, before the schedule expires... But it is good that today we can express our dobuts as to the realism of our intentions. A healthy doubt is ultimately better than immoderate exultation in our plans, the "best in the world." But doubt is not an infallible proof that you are right. As the saying goes, time will tell and work will produce results.

Flaws in the free exchange of opinions, flaws in glasnost, are only natural. After all, we are only just learning to live in the new conditions. Not everything is always a success. Some candidates, during their campaign, seem merely to repeat frenziedly the names of those with whom they are in ideological dispute. Is this permissible? You can criticize, but you cannot insult. Basically, given even a little political and legal sophistication it is not all that difficult to distinguish between the two. An unsubstantiated, knowingly unjust accusation is not simply undesirable, it is insulting.

Today it is quite clear that the breakthrough to the future that restructuring is called upon to carry out, a breakthrough that is absolutely necessary to the renewal of society, to all of us, is proving painfully difficult. The complexities that have arisen have prompted different reactions in different population strata. The candidate people's deputies spoke a great deal about how to help restructuring by giving the changes greater dynamism, for which there is a vital need. But ideas of a very different kind were also put forward. Some people see a way out of the situation in a return to the past, sometimes the distant, patriarchal past, sometimes the comparatively recent past, the times of "real order, a firm hand," or even the times of stagnation. We did not live all that well, they say, we did not expect all that much, but all the same... Some people perceived in the developing cooperation with the West the idea of Russia's colonization by foreign monopolies... In short, for the first time we saw for ourselves people we had only heard about before—the opponents of restructuring. But what is offered in exchange? What kind of future? Instead of a future, the past? Do you agree?

By embarking on the path of democratization, glasnost, and truth, we thereby brought closer the arrival of public insight, the moment of truth. And that moment not only answered many questions, but, in turn, raised new ones. Judging by the sentiments we saw in the television debates, it would be patently premature to claim that restructuring is already irreversible. The resistance is very strong and now it is active and aggressive. So the moment we are living through today is truly crucial. In fact, some people, realizing this, even went so far as to reveal their views openly.

...The last election battles, which, it must be admitted, sometimes deafened the people with the thundering torrents of words, are only just dying down. Those torrents of words included plenty of hard-won revelations and noisy assurances, in which sheer fantasy often prevailed. Now society awaits with excitement and hope the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. What will it give the country? To what future will it show the way?

Those who assemble will no longer be candidates, but people's deputies. The difference is not only a big one, it is fundamental. Being a candidate is, so to speak, an interim, transitional condition. The candidate is largely that same free student in whom youthful vigor plays and whose youthful enthusiasm is not cooled by prosaic ideas about real life. A deputy, however, is a mature person who has defined his place and taken a firm stand and different demands are made on him. His words and deeds have a different value. How will the deputies make out? Will they be drowned in verbal battles or swamped by work? Will they be carried away by their own self-esteem? Will they be afraid to go to the platform, when necessary, and uphold their voters' will? Will they have enough political vision and firmness of will?

The congress that is to meet at this turning point in our complex history will be working under the keen attention of a people full of hope.

Everyone expects effective measures and concrete decisions on urgent problems, and not half-hearted decisions of the kind that have no sooner come out than they need major amendments or even radical revision. We expect tried and tested, profound decisions that indicate the shortest path to victory over the complexities that arise to a life worthy of man.

Election Commission Registers New Deputies

LD1905155889 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—The Central Election Commission today registered 71 people's deputies elected in repeat elections last Sunday. The voting took place in 195 districts, where none of the candidates managed to win more than half of the votes on March 26, and in three districts in Armenia where the voting was found inconclusive after less than 50 per cent of the electorate turned up.

As is known, a total of 750 territorial and as many national—territorial election districts were set up in the Soviet Union. However, 198 districts, where repeat elections were held on May 14, in effect account for a third of all voters, because they include many large national-territorial districts, like Leningrad.

Vladimir Orlov, chairman of the Central Election Commission, stressed that the voter turn-out was very high at 78.4 per cent as compared with 89.8 per cent on March

26. The average number of candidates per one seat rose from two in the first round of voting to six at the current stage and even to 20 and 30 in some districts.

This explains why run-off elections between two candidates, who received the largest number of votes on May 14, will take place in 126 districts. They will need a simply majority for victory. The run-off elections were already held in six districts yesterday and are due in in others on May 21 or 23 to meet the May 25 deadline, when the congress opens.

New elections will be held in one of the territorial elections of the Tatar Autonomous Republic after none of the candidates managed to collect more than half of the votes during the repeat elections. Elections were also held on May 14 in one of the districts of the Aktyubinsk region, Kazakhstan, following the death of the deputy.

The deputies elected during the repeat elections include 78.7 per cent of communists, 22.5 per cent of workers and collective farmers, and nine per cent of women. In the first round these figures were respectively 87.6, 29.8 and 17.1 per cent.

Ukrainian Clerics Continue Moscow Hunger Strike

LD1805152789 Hamburg DPA in German 1427 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 May (DPA)—Three bishops and three priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church are continuing the hunger strike they began in Moscow yesterday. They are taking the action in the Soviet capital to press for the legalization of their church. They told DPA this morning that they will continue their hunger strike until they are received by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Bishop Pavlo Vasilyk said that they had been assured in the reception room of the Presidium that they would receive an answer to their wishes Friday. In a statement issued at the start of their hunger strike the six men addressed the Soviet head of state, complaining that their request in Moscow has not yet been acknowledged.

The weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI reported Thursday that French Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger cancelled a visit to the USSR. Lustiger stated that he cancelled the visit because his visit to the Ukrainian city of Kiev was cancelled by the orthodox church. The United Ukrainian Catholic Church, which is based in the Western Ukraine, was joined with the orthodox patriarchy in Moscow in 1946. Since then the church members have been striving for recognition.

Reportage on Estonian Supreme Soviet Session

Economic Sovereignty Decree Adopted

LD1805173189 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] The Estonian economy is to be separated from the economy in the rest of the Soviet Union. The local parliament in Tallinn made the decision today, and it also means that Estonia hopes to have a currency of its own in the long term.

[Correspondent Eriksson] With an overwhelming majority the Estonian Supreme Soviet a moment ago made the historic decision to separate the Estonian economy from the economy of the rest of the Soviet Union. Decisions concerning the economy in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic are to be made locally here in Tallinn in the future and not, as now, in Moscow. Further, the state is to protect all property, that means even private property, and foreign enterprises are to have the right to own property in Estonia, which naturally is to increase the foreign companies' interest in investing.

At today's session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet the Russian-speaking delegates were surprisingly restrained in their criticism of the plans for an independent economy. It is true that one of them said that the 12-point proposals are contrary to the Soviet Constitution and that the plans should therefore be changed. The organizations of the Russian-speaking population have also adopted a very cautious stance. They may rely on the leadership in Moscow to reject the Estonian decisions in the same way as they did when the Estonians last autumn set themselves above the Soviet Constitution.

Moscow will probably also oppose a number of Estonian decisions, but the ideas of economic self-management have in the same way as the language laws and protection against continued Russian immigration spread to many other Soviet republics. At a meeting some weeks ago of the local governments of the three Baltic republics and Belorussia there was broad agreement that a large part of the economic decisions must be made locally. Similar decisions on economic self-management can therefore be expected soon at least in Latvia and Lithuania.

Cost-Accounting To Be Introduced

LD1805171989 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Tallinn May 18 TASS—Estonia is introducing cost-accounting as of January 1, 1990 in keeping with a decision adopted today by the parliament of this Soviet Baltic republic.

The members of the Supreme Soviet approved two laws, on transition of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic to republican cost-accounting and the basic principles of cost-accounting in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The two documents envisage the republic's transition from administrative to economic relations with other regions of the USSR.

The Estonian Supreme Soviet decreed that the basic principles of cost-accounting in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic will become a legislative initiative to be submitted by the republic to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Condemned

LD1805194489 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 18 May 89

[Excerpts] Good evening. Nearly 1 hour ago the session of our Supreme Soviet finished work in Toompea. The people's deputies were surprisingly unanimous in adopting resolutions. The work of the session was relayed in its entirety on our third program. We will now give a short summary of the session's work. Gunnar Paal reports.

[Paal] The main subject of today's session concerned discussion and adoption of documents related to self-management in Estonia. After a long day, during which Indrek Toome [Council of Ministers chairman], Enn-Arno Sillari [Tallinn city party committee first secretary], and 15 others spoke. Four documents were put to a vote. All were adopted with a considerable majority of votes.

Another important event of the day was the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet's resolution on the attitude toward the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. There was a discussion at the session with respect to individual aspects of the document. The document, when put to a vote, was adopted with 201 votes for and 21 against, while 12 people's deputies abstained. This document condemns the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and demands its annulment.

The session of the Supreme Soviet also unanimously expressed its attitude toward the tragic events in Tbilisi last month on 9 April. [passage omitted]

Of the 284 people's deputies, 242 took part in the work of today's session. [passage omitted]

Now we would like to ask President Arnold Ryuytel to summarize the long working day for the benefit of our listeners.

[Ryuytel] I think that these principles of self-management in Estonia—this intuitive feel of them, I mean—arose years ago and I think that all economists have been carrying them around in their hearts for decades. The fact that within this past year this has taken on such a specific format that it was possible to adopt it today undoubtedly should be considered as an important step for our economic life, and not only our economic life. A self-managing Estonia will also create preconditions for our cultural autonomy, the autonomy of our education and other matters. It must be welcomed in every way and for that reason today is a kind of red-letter day in the life of our Estonia.

[Paal] Today as the agenda was being adopted a whole string of essential points were indeed left off the agenda. Those which at the moment are in the hearts and at the back of the minds of the people of Estonia.

[Ryuytel] I attempted to provide a summary of those and we chose from among them those issues which are causing particular concern and problems that are weighing heavily on people. At the moment most of those have been adopted—the issue of the Molotov-Ribentrop pact or the repressions. In fact, with respect to the repressions and the recognition of Stalinism as a crime, we adopted a draft law on 7 December last year but we have not yet received a reply to it, so now we have adopted an inquiry to receive an answer to our draft law. The discussion is still continuing at the moment.

I think that the public at large of the whole republic has lived through the 9 April events in Tbilisi, in a very serious way, and we want to discuss this question now too. I believe quite firmly that all the deputies will be practically unanimous on this issue, that it cannot be recognized as being right, and we will express an opinion on this score.

[Paal] The people are also interested in the results of the 16 November session. How are the all-union laws being registered? And how do matters stand with citizenship? You gave a summary on the subject that a string of all-union laws have now been stopped by our Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Ryuytel] Yes, I mean, beginning immediately with the 16 November session, and also after the 26 November session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, we have in essence been implementing our resolution. Well, implementing it in such a way that we have not adopted any laws of the kind that would have restricted the sovereign rights of our republic or the rights of the population, the people of Estonia. We have also provided these laws with an assessment on our part and conducted an expert examination, and perhaps this has to some degree also influenced the adoption of these laws, even if we cannot say so in respect of any law (?quite point by point). For example, if we take the one about the transport vehicle tax, we protested on two occasions in writing and then also orally I asked personally to have it reported to the genera secretary that we cannot agree to this. As we know at the moment, there was a considerable relaxation of this law, with local authorities and republics being given much bigger rights to determine for themselves and to decide themselves about the rates and grant waivers for paying the tax. [passage omitted]

We also did not adopt resolutions on the law of 28 July last year, or the decree adopted on 8 April [on crimes against the state], or a string of other laws that would have, as I already said, considerably restricted the rights of our republic and important citizens' rights.

[Paal] Can we conclude that today's session was fruitful?

[Ryuytel] I would grant it a very important place among our sessions, because it concerns every person in Estonia, no matter where he works, if he works, if he is a student, or even in kindergarten. If we can really decide economic matters for ourselves then I think that somehow at the moment political activity will have risen to the fore in a special way, and if (?we do things according to how we decide ourselves) and our daily economic life depends on this, then a similar expression of our will will also be manifested in everyday work.

Estonian Plenum 'Confrontation' Promotes Stress

PM1905095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Shirokov "Post-Plenum Notes": "A Halfway Step"]

[Text] During the recess a TV reporter held a impromptu interview with participants in the 14th Estonian Central Committee Central Committee Plenum: "What is your impression of the beginning of the plenum?"

One bitterly replied: "As usual, we aren't listening to one another...."

At first glance indeed, many things at the plenum were initially reminiscent of that kind of discussion.

Estonian Communists took the floor:

"Stalin's terror and Brezhnev's tyrannical migration policy could not endear the people to the new system—quite the reverse. People became accustomed to the new situation, they adapted to it, but in their conversations Estonians replace the phrase Soviet power most often with the words Russian power, thereby alluding to something alien to them."

Russian Communists joined in:

"The Russian-speaking population is keeping a close eye on the situation's development and rightly sees in it dangerous tendencies leading toward separatism, the incitement of interethnic discord, the restriction of the rights of a considerable section of the republic's population, and encroachment on the foundations of the socialist system."

In brief, diametrically opposed positions. A pretty tense situation has developed in the republic. The majority of both communities—the Estonian and the Russian speakers—seem to have withdrawn into themselves, slammed the door shut, and intransigently stated only their view and understanding of the problems, especially on interethnic relations.

It is regrettable that the tension has been fueled by, among others, some Communists who occupy leading positions in social movements, which, as Kalyu Komissarov, head of a department at Tallinn University, said with anguish at the plenum, "threaten one another by means of strikes, boycotts, a citizenship law, the dictatorship of the proletariat, or creeping counterrevolution. And all this is happening not on the moon but among Estonian Communist Party members with red party cards in their pockets...."

L. Karu, the republic's minister of health, made an apposite comment from the plenum rostrum on the unexpected consequences of the exhausting and futile confrontation. Doctors' observations show that the fierce political discussions, rallies, and ultimatums are wearing people out and making them nervous and stressed.

It is noteworthy that his words were echoed in the addresses of other speakers. Many of them spoke of the need to restore humanity, tolerance, and comradeliness in relations among people and to search for points of understanding and consolidation. There was an interesting suggestion from A. Gusev, first secretary of the Morskoy party rayon committee, for example.

The point of his proposal was as follows. Movement toward each other does not need to begin with major political agreements or compromises, but with some small or practical gesture, for example. Take the low living standard of pensioners, the old, and the disabled. That is our common problem! Why not help them directly today without waiting for state solutions? There are powerful and rich organizations operating in the republic, such as the Estonian-speaking Union of Labor Collectives and the Russian-speaking United Council of Labor Collectives. It is well within their power to look after low-income families. A tremendous role could be played here also by the People's Front with its efficient organization, the "greens" with their enthusiasm, and the Interdvizheniye.

Estonia's working people have become tired of confrontation and are increasingly resolutely demanding unity among the wholesome forces. It is no coincidence that the main question on the agenda was expressed in these words: "On the political situation in the republic and the work of party organizations in uniting working people and social forces for the solution of the tasks of restructuring."

The report by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, provided a clear statement of the original situation:

"Many hidden tensions, injustices, and national and social contradictions which were suppressed for decades have surfaced. Despite all the efforts made, the disagreements among the social groups have not diminished. The positions of the mass political movements are not drawing closer together, indeed they are sometimes even moving further apart. Various social movements understand the process of restructuring and its tasks completely differently, and extremist excesses have appeared."

The plenum participants understood that the burden of the past and the Stalinist deformations of socialism and the time of stagnation still influence people's consciousness and everyday lives. The fierce battle against the "class enemies," the exiles to Siberia, the enforced collectivization, the lamentable Eighth Estonian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee Plenum in 1950, which dealt a perceptible blow to national party and state cadres and the intelligentsia, the uncontrolled migration into the republic wittingly or unwittingly organized by union ministries and departments during the years of the Brezhnev "nirvana"—that is, the time of beatific calm—remain in the Estonian people's historical memory.

Yes, all that happened. However, certain circles in the republic sought the "culprits" in the wrong places. That point was made quite forthrightly in the report: "Unfortunately, the criticism of Stalinism and the violence perpetrated against Estonians in a number of cases turned into criticism of the Russian people. Yet the Russian people suffered from Stalinism and the administrative-command economy in exactly the same way as all the other peoples of the USSR, and their losses were enormous."

It is gratifying that today many indigenous inhabitants of the republic share that view. The tide of the antimigration campaign has turned, and sober voices are being heard increasingly often in the local press, too. People are coming to realize that only the united desire of the whole population of Estonia for the solution of economic and social problems can rectify the situation.

Perhaps, therefore, despite the notes of mutual recrimination sounded in the speeches of some plenum participants, there was no sense of hopelessness and futility. Many people not only listened but also tried to understand. Especially toward the end of the plenum. And that is deeply symptomatic. It became clear that the search for a "common language," as prescribed in the past, is no longer possible. Restructuring has a different vocabulary and a different lexicon. The difficult spiritual work which was conducted throughout last year was not in vain. Russian-speaking Communists have begun to understand the hopes and aspirations of their Estonian comrades, and the latter in turn have begun to realize the level of the fears and anxieties of certain inhabitants for their destiny and the future of their children in this land.

Of course, the process of mutual understanding and mutual trust has only just begun to take shape, and it must be encouraged in every way while opposing those who, blinded by extremism, political adventurism, and personal ambition, are ready to go to any lengths and to destroy any possibility of compromise and consolidation. The plenum condemned the activity of the so-called national independence party and certain leaders of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments in organizing indigenous "citizens' committees," which are essentially an attempt to create an alternative power structure that is in itself unconstitutional. Sharp criticism was also leveled at a section of the conservative members of Interdvizheniye.

While hoping for the former cooperation with the People's Front, V. Vyalyas nevertheless asked the following questions in his report: "How are events going to develop in the future, and what is the republic's leadership seeking in consistently pursuing the course toward sovereignty? What in fact does this sovereignty mean? Will non-Estonians' opinion be taken into account, or will they not be recognized as citizens of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, and will everything be done behind their backs? These questions have been aggravated all the more by the recent statements of the People's Front. The question of Estonia's future is of interest not only to us but to the whole union. Every politician must realize that ultimately the price that the people pay for the development path that they choose is their future. That is too high a price for a mistake. The People's Front in its declaration "On National Self-Determination" puts forward the idea that "Estonian statehood...can...develop only toward the restoration of the legal continuity of the state system interrupted in 1940."

The Estonian Communist Party leader responded resolutely to that: "To form policy from the present into the past is unrealistic.... Let it be said once more with the utmost clarity that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee seeks the development of Estonia's independence within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and considers the attainment of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR's] sovereignty to be one of the main tasks of restructuring."

The discord and the centrifugal tendencies which split social movements in different directions must be stopped. The only force capable of and called upon to do this is the Estonian Communist Party. Meanwhile, even some Communists have recently begun calling for a switch to a multiparty system. And the results have not been slow in coming: The "social democrats" have proclaimed themselves again, and some people would also like to turn the newly emerged farmers' union into a party. On the day that the plenum opened, the newspaper MAALEHT carried an article by Yu. Ekhasalu,

member of the Raplaskiy party raykom bureau and deputy chairman of the "Kayu" collective farm, in which he wrote, among other things: "The idea of certain activists who paved the way for the creation of this union—CPSU members, incidentally—that the Union of Farmers is a second party, are astonishing...."

That idea was supported in the speech of A. Vyali, first secretary of Khaapsaluskiy party raykom: "We must wage a joint struggle to ensure that political intriguers do not seize the leading positions in the Union of Farmers. The land belongs to those who work it and the Union of Farmers must be a union of such people."

Ya. Allik, first secretary of Vilyandiskiy party raykom, cautioned against "playing games" with a multiparty system: "Interparty struggle would be the complete ruin of Estonia. In addition to the major damage done to relations with the central authorities, open political wrangling and pursuit of popularity would push the solution of all the complex problems—economic, social, and so on—far into the background."

However, the discharge of this role, Ya. Allik stressed, "presupposes substantial activation of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government, and a switch from the stance of observer and popularity-seeker to the leadership of political life, to the stance of evaluating and determining the rules of the game."

The fact that the republic's Communists sometimes clearly find the "evaluating and determining" stance of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee lacking was confirmed by the polemical "exchange" at the plenum. V. Vyalyas: "...You sometimes get the curious situation arising whereby people demand an immediate 'resolute' evaluation from the Central Committee of any speech or polemical newspaper article. There is no point in expecting the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee to make daily evaluations of the conduct of certain public figures." Yu. Kulichikhin, worker at Sillamyaeskiy chemical and metallurgical plant, categorically disagreed with him: "It would have been possible to agree that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee cannot make assessments of such conduct daily if we were talking about a schoolboy up to some pranks. Here, however, we are talking about CPSU members who have joined the leadership organs of social movements."

Indeed, this polemic is the source of one of the ideas that united the bulk of plenum participants. Some party members are playing a "game without rules," regarding their activity in a social movement as decisive and their membership in the Communist Party as secondary. I think that the majority shared the words of of Ya. Allik when he said: "An honest person seeks to make his motherland and his party better, purer, and more just, but does not change the motherland and the party out of considerations of advantage."

However, it seems that far from everyone today adheres to this noble principle. As if in confirmation of this, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA reprinted the article by T. Made specially prepared by him for the Finnish newspaper HELSINGIN SANOMAT. The article is entitled "Homo Sovieticus Created in the Soviet Union." Here is just one small example from the article: "The new man already exists. He roams our streets, he avoids normal work, he is malevolent and disappointed, inclined to base deeds and envy.... The state machine has been operating for 70 years and has been carrying these people around on its drive belt. It is not known whether Nietsche, Marx, and Lenin would have been pleased with this. Or whether they would have been ashamed of their ideas."

It would seem to be an obvious truism that, if you are a Communist, then under the Statutes you must bear personal responsibility for your party's unity, and for its ideological, organizational, and moral health, because the militancy of its ranks depends on that. In today's political situation, it was said at the plenum, the CPSU represents not the interests of a certain section of society but the fundamental interests of all society. It is quite clear that debates and polemics within the party and individual opinions on certain questions are a natural phenomenon. But its strength consists in requiring with total principledness that Communists and party committees steadfastly implement collective decisions.

This appeal found a response in the Communists' hearts: They voted unanimously in favor of the members of the commission tasked with creating the "Estonian Communist Party Action Program" document, which will be elaborated following political debate within party organizations and subsequently submitted for nationwide discussion. This document, drafted within the framework of the CPSU Statutes and Program, must be a unified program for Estonian Communists of all nationalities. The plenum's decision urged the republic's Communists to stabilize the intraparty and domestic situation in order to restore Leninist party norms.

Estonian Newsmen's Extraordinary Congress Reported

New Chairman Elected, Agenda Adopted

PM1805092989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[ETA report: "Extraordinary Congress of Estonian Journalists' Union. Information Report"]

[Text] The Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Journalists' Union opened 5 May in Tallinn at Toompea. It was opened by Yu. Paalma, chairman of the Estonian SSR Journalists' Union.

The following agenda was ratified:
1. Board report.
2. Auditing commission report.

3. Adoption of Estonian Journalists' Union statutes.
4. Election of chairman of the Estonian Journalists Union Board.
5. Board elections.
6. Adoption of congress decrees and resolutions.

After ratification of the agenda and working regulations a report was delivered by Yu. Paalma. The auditing commission report was presented by L. Koyk, chairman of the auditing commission. Draft statutes of the Estonian Journalists' Union submitted for discussion by the extraordinary congress were presented by M. Kadastik.

R. Yarlik, L. Koyk, B. Tukh, E. Khion, R. Rimmel, E. Tooms, E. Kekelidze, V. Raudsepp, A. Slutsk, E.-A. Khelemyae, and I. Rattus then spoke.

Estonian Journalists' Union statutes were adopted. The congress delegates discussed the nominations for the post of board chairman. E. Khion, S. Kallas, I. Rattus, and A. Payu withdrew their nominations. The nominations of M. Myuyur and A. Veetamm were put the vote.

Television journalist M. Myuyur was elected chairman of the Estonian Journalists' Union Board with 168 votes. Sixty seven delegates voted for A. Veetamm.

The first day of the congress ended on a ceremonial note—the new Estonian SSR Journalists' Union prize-winners were presented with their diplomas, prizes, and flowers. Flowers were also presented as a sign of gratitude to all members of the former board.

Taking part in the Estonian Journalists' Union Extraordinary Congress were Comrades V. Vyalyas, M. Pedak, A. Ryuytel, E.-A. Sillari, M. Titma, I. Toome, E. Pyldroos, A. Soydla, and colleagues from the USSR, Latvian, and Lithuanian Journalists' Unions.

The congress continues 6 May.

Outgoing Chairman's Report Published

PM1805144189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 May 89 pp 1, 3

[ETA report: "Extract From Report by Yu. Paalma, Chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Journalists' Union Board," delivered 5 May in Tallinn on opening day of Extraordinary Congress of Estonian Journalists]

[Excerpt] Our union's sixth congress was held in this very auditorium 3 years ago. Restructuring has already started; at the combined plenum of creative unions we have started sensing not only our mission but the contradiction between the acceleration taking place in society and the union's ramshackle structure and routine activity. Admittedly, we operated more actively and with greater unity during both the hot summer and the fall; we managed to gain the increasing confidence of readers, listeners, and viewers, and we started organizing more direct contacts with colleagues from other union republics in order to inform them about what is happening here. At the same time, we encountered disinformation, bias, dishonesty, and the most varied forms of power struggle. Because of unexpected events and a lack of experience we ourselves made mistakes, sometimes playing into the hands of the opposition.

Despite journalism's outward glamor, the injection of vigor given journalists by public recognition cannot last forever.

Organizationally and economically journalism is facing serious problems, despite the fact that glasnost is the only lever for implementing renewal.

If renewal is the movement of society from one state to another, the mountain we will have to climb is again the question of property and power.

Why was the public's close attention drawn some time ago to the struggle of Yukhan Aare against the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers; the defense by Yulo Russak of an agronomist from the "Nymme" State Farm [sovkhoz]; the Pyarnu articles by Enno Tammer; Siym Kallas' coverage of the Iokhannes Khint case, which ended in triumph for justice but triggered a sharp reaction at the union level; and Ottya Kool's activeness in Virumaa? Because in all these cases we were dealing with investigative journalism; because in all these cases the main question, willy-nilly, was the question of ownership and power.

Despite numerous assurances, renewal is still at the embryo stage. This is reaffirmed by Karabakh, Kuropaty [Stalin victims' burial site], and the nights in Tbilisi. It is reaffirmed by the ideological struggle raging around renewal and the intensity in interethnic relations both in our republic and other regions.

One inevitably recalls in this connection a word which has become worn out through its long and senselessly frequent usage with regard to journalists—the word "responsibility." Responsibility and professional ethics have now become far more genuinely and seriously important than they were before. However banal it may sound, we have to decide every day whether certain articles or broadcasts really promote the "Estonian cause" and the restructuring policy, or whether we are dealing with a quest for personal or group popularity rather than a plurality of opinions.

Now is the time for declarations and for defining points of view. And there are difficulties in this area. Whereas before we attentively monitored whether or not the authorities were pleased with what we were doing, now we have to define the areas where we are dealing with necessary pressure from the grassroots to prevent the authorities becoming ossified, and the areas where we are dealing with people trying to throw a wrench in the works of our movement. The worst thing in this respect

is when antirestructuring characteristics are ascribed to a certain nation. There are plenty of examples in history of both the proletariat and bureaucrats panicking during great changes and starting to demand a firm hand and order. The struggle for power and ownership knows no national boundaries. It is particularly hard for bureaucrats to give up property which does not belong to them. And our home-grown bureaucrats are no less pigheaded than their Moscow colleagues.

We have to considerably deepen the contacts we established during the summer. Taking account of the historic traditions and situation in other union republics at this time, but not imposing our own views, we must find more common interests and, supporting each other, seek points of contact which will allow us to achieve favorable decisions by collaborating with other journalists in the corridors of central power.

Ultimately, the rest of the world is interested in contact with Estonia to the extent that it is a reliable intermediary between the rest of the world and the Soviet Union.

Yet are we not keeping ourselves too much to ourselves? We can give readers and listeners endless information about the complex situation in ecology, culture, and education—not to mention the economy—and we can be concerned about the future, all the while referring to central authorities. But the central authorities do not read RAHVA HAAL, SIRP JA VAZAR, and EDASI, and although Estonian Radio can now be picked up there, its broadcasts are simply not understood. Why should Estonian journalists not have more frequent access to the offices of the Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, or the Ministry of Power and Electrification to ask the reasons for the chronic difficulties at "Volt," belching smokestacks, and the Kuremyae Mine? It is one thing when answers are given by republic government leaders who have already bored everyone to tears, it is another matter when they have to answer questions from journalists whose jobs do not depend on them and who have the backing of the general republic—albeit limited to the confines of little Estonia. I repeat the idea expressed at the creative unions' plenum: Illegal activities by departmental monopolies should be opposed by the open terror of legality. We should take our cue from the work of Yukhan Aare and the late Yuri Myuyur.

The objection could be made that these problems will still not be resolved until Estonia becomes truly sovereign. The wait for great decisions can seem too long. Even a woodpecker's hammering helps to preserve the forest.

Since we are talking about the central authorities, it is impossible nowadays to stand aside from our relations with the central press. Let's look at the background. One approach is, so to speak, neutral, and attributes its silence to the excessively specific nature of the problems of the Baltic republics, which might be incomprehensible to the inhabitants of Central Asia, for instance. Indeed, insofar as I have discussed this with colleagues from those areas, they have invariably stressed that strong central authorities are a precondition for the existence of a strong union republic. It is also said that even among top USSR leaders there is no united opinion on restructuring.

The second approach directly represents the ideology of a unitary state. It does not want to notice the imprint left on people's souls over the decades, the physical and moral casualties, or the reasons for our laggardness in many areas. This is all linked with very radical views reflected in one way or another in our publications or in the statements by different movements. People may or may not like them, but they do exist. But the question is: Is it right to generalize about the situation and aspirations of the people as a whole on that basis? What is particularly regrettable is the direct distortion of facts on the one hand, and on the other hand the times when we play into other people's hands as a result of our inability to think things through. We do not even have any opportunity to refute absurdities—on the contrary, the absurdities spread among millions of people.

Just what is the role of the Journalists' Union? Quite a modest role. We have put forward our opinion, presented refutations—not least at the last two USSR Journalists' Union plenums—and so forth. It has to be admitted that this activity is not bearing any particular fruit, and we have major work to do to maintain our existing channels and create new channels through direct contacts. I self-critically admit that our contacts with correspondents from central publications and agencies are limited to a nodding acquaintance.

Now to our new statutes and relations with the the USSR Journalists' Union. The first draft of the statutes met with a far from approving reception in Moscow. However, there was still time for thought, and the current draft has been supplemented somewhat and amendments made to it. Comments will probably continue to come in.

What prompted the proposal to set up an Estonian Journalists' Union as a successor to the Estonian Union of Journalists and prepared to actively cooperate with journalists' unions in all other republics, the USSR Journalists' Union, and journalists' organizations in other countries? Above all, the logic of life and dissatisfaction with the current all-union structure. In practice the USSR Journalists' Union embodies a central apparatus, with all the consequences that entails—above all with regard to economic relations. It is unnatural that with the planned transition of Estonia and a number of other union republics to economic accountability the All-Union Journalists' Foundation is being centrally allocated R122,600—of which our organization is receiving just R3,630—from publishers and from the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The problem is not just a matter of money; it is a

fundamental problem. We would obviously have agreed to pay 20, 30, or even 50 percent, but what is important is the way the money is spent. Is there any point in building a large leisure center if somewhat smaller centers could be built in the republic, and an exchange fund set up in the process?

Another problem is our limited publishing rights: We are not entitled to publish books.

The third problem is the contradiction in the statutes, one article of which claims we can develop external relations, while another article claims we cannot.

Fourth. It is hard to understand the functions of the organizers [kuratory] in the union republics. They are excellent and marvelous colleagues, but we do not need organization. What we need are, for instance, Latin-script typewriters, dictaphones, cameras, quality film, and good training literature. We support the proposal made by the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI to convene an extraordinary congress of the USSR Journalists' Union.

And fifth. The need for a creative union that is independent but prepared to cooperate has already been felt by writers, artists, and moviemakers.

I see no reason why an independent union would separate us from Aleksandr Bovin or Otto Latsis, from Anatoliy Yezhelev—one of the Leningrad leaders—or from those Georgian journalists whose offices were occupied by soldiers one night in Tbilisi.

I see two main avenues for the union's future activity: protecting journalists' general interests, and protecting the interests of each individual—that is, at the union member level. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Amends Constitution

Economic Independence Law Passed

LD1805200189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1920 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Vilnius, 18 May (TASS)—A session of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania today discussed the amendment of a number of articles in the constitution of this Baltic republic. In particular, it envisages the earth and its minerals, interior and territorial waters, forests and other natural resources as being the national riches of the republic and comprising its exclusive property.

Citizenship of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] will be established. New wording of the article concerning the validity of the laws of the USSR on the republic's territory was also adopted.

A law on the economic independence of the Lithuanian SSR was also passed. With this document it is envisaged that economic relations will be based on a variety of forms of ownership and decentralization of the management of the economy, and on state regulation of the economy.

Citizenship Amendment Adopted

LD1805222589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] A session of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet was held in Vilnius today. This latest session was distinguished by the high level of activity by the participants and a pluralism of views.

After thorough discussion, the deputies voted for amendments and addendums to the Lithuanian SSR Constitution concerning the republic's exclusive ownership of its natural resources, citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR, and the validity of laws on the territory of the republic only after they have been adopted or confirmed by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A law has been adopted on the foundations of the Lithuanian SSR's economic independence; transition to republican financial autonomy is planned for 1 January 1990.

The deputies confirmed the decree of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 25 January 1989 on the use of the state language of the Lithuanian SSR, which calls for an extension of usage of the Lithuanian language and for guarantees of its development prospects in the republic. The decree notes that the status of Lithuanian as a state language does not infringe on the right of citizens of other nationalities to use their own native language. [video shows Lithuanian Supreme Soviet in session]

Decree on State Language Approved

LD1905100789 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Vilnius (LITHUANIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY—TASS) May 19 TASS—The eleventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (11th convocation) was held here this Thursday.

On the initiative of a group of deputies the session discussed and endorsed amendments to some articles of the republic's constitution. It re-edited Article 11, defining the object of property in the republic, Articles 31 and 37 on citizenship and on the protection of the rights and liberties of the republics' citizens. Article 70, in the new edition, lays down that only laws adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet or through a referendum will henceforth be valid within the republic. Laws of the USSR and legal acts of the Soviet Union's organs of state power and administration will come into force in the territory of the

Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic only after their endorsement by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and registration according to the fixed procedure.

The Supreme Soviet also adopted a declaration on Lithuanian state sovereignty.

The session approved a law on the basic principles of economic independence of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. It lays down the concept, goals and principles of the republic's economic independence, of property and forms of its administration, of state regulation of the economy. The law stipulates that economic relations with other republics will henceforth be based on equitable reciprocal agreements.

The session approved a decree "on the use of state language in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic".

It also adopted an address to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the USSR Government urging them to condemn the 1939-1941 secret deals between the Soviet Union and Hitlerite Germany, which led to the division of Eastern Europe into spheres of influence between these two states, to pronounce them unlawful and null and void from the moment they were signed.

Brazauskas Comments on Politburo Session on Baltics
LD1405164189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Though no official reports have come in as yet, we've learned from the traditional Friday radio interview of the Lithuanian party leader Algirdas Brazauskas the details of yesterday's [11 May] Politburo sitting in Moscow. Invited to the sitting together with Algirdas Brazauskas were also the party leaders of Latvia and Estonia as the Politburo was discussing the current situation in the Baltic republics in the wake of the elections to the Soviet parliament.

Algirdas Brazauskas said in his interview that the Politburo had grasped the situation and the logic of the processes under way. The Lithuanian leader assessed their discussion as useful. He said it would (?largely) help Lithuania to go ahead in resolving its burning issues. Algirdas Brazauskas raised before the Politburo the question of the possibility to implement the principles of economic self-dependence as the most important one for the present moment.

According to the Lithuanian leader Mikhail Gorbachev backed the importance of implementing the economic self-dependence and the issue will presently leave the stage of discussions and materialize into concrete action. As is known the central Moscow departments, the Council of Ministers and planning committee most of all have been putting up all sorts of obsticles to quench the initiative of Lithuania and the other Baltic republics to set out on their own as early as the beginning of next year. Up to now Lithuania has been directly managing up to one-tenth of its industry while at the first stage of its economic self-dependence it will have control over more that two-thirds.

The need to give a proper assessment of the events of 1939 and 1940 was again held up during the Politburo sitting and according to Algirdas Brazauskas this burning problem received a positive response at the Politburo sitting.

Crimean Tatars Commemorate Deportations in Riga
LD1805222689 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2000 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] A meeting devoted to the 45th anniversary of the deportation of Crimean Tatars took place today at the Kirova Parks in Riga. During the meeting those present were addressed by activists of the Cultural Society of Crimean Tatars of Latvia, representatives of the People's Front of Latvia and eyewitnesses to the deportations of 18 May 1944. The speakers touched on the historical aspects of this inhuman action and expressed a hope that the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet of the new convocation would, nevertheless, be capable of solving the (?complicated) but still topically urgent question on the return of the Crimean Tatars to their homeland.

Also at the Kalna Parks in Vilnius an extensive solidarity meeting of Lithuanians and Tatars took place this evening. This had been organized by the Tartar Culture Rebirth Society of Lithuania.

Tatars, Other Nationals Resettle in Crimea
LD1605192789 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—As many as 41.5 thousand Tatars reside in the Crimea now, R.A. Kuznetsov, deputy chief of the Main Board for the Protection of Public Order at the USSR Ministry of the Interior, said in an interview with TASS.

He noted that over 190 thousand Crimean Tatars and citizens of other nationalities were evicted from the Crimea in 1944 on unfounded accusations under a decree of the USSR State Committee for Defence. After the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party first steps were taken to clear Crimean Tatars of unfounded accusations and lift the restrictions imposed on them. In 1967, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet fully restored the constitutional rights to them and granted them the opportunity to reside all over the territory of the country in accordance with the existing legislation.

In mid-eighties it was necessary to seal legislatively the rules for residence and registration of citizens regardless of their nationality, in the Crimea and other resort areas of the USSR. An appropriate resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers was adopted. Nearly 27 thousand

Tatars moved to the Crimea after the resolution came into effect. People of other nationalities went to live there, too. People of 110 nationalities and ethnic groups live in the Crimean region.

Kuznetsov noted that the resettlement of the Crimean Tatars mostly proceeds spontaneously and this creates serious difficulties for local government bodies and people arriving in the Crimea. At the same time, he expressed the conviction that much in settling these matters depends on local leaders. Kuznetsov emphasised that Soviet legislation guarantees the protection of rights and lawful interests of all citizens without exception.

Ligachev Speaks at Publishers' Seminar
PM1805133389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guidelines for a Modern Agrarian Policy"]

[Text] An all-union seminar of publishing workers organized by the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade and the all-union "Agropromizdat" [publishing house for literature on agriculture and industry] association has been held in Moscow. Publishers' tasks in propagandizing the party's present day agrarian policy and implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum were discussed. There was a broad exchange of opinions on the coverage in literature of topical problems of the social transformation of the countryside, the establishment and development of new economic relations in the country's agro-industrial complex, and the extensive use in the agrarian sector of modern scientific and technical achievements.

An extensive system for the production of agricultural literature is in operation in the country. In light of the CPSU Central Committee March plenum's ideas and decisions it is important to make skillful use of creative forces and printing facilities and to ensure the production of the sort of literature that rural workers, the food industry, and all Soviet people need.

Publishing house workers were addressed by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He also answered many questions.

Taking part in the seminar's work were Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, and D.F. Mamleyev, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade.

Ligachev Addresses Central Committee Conference
LD1805202189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee examined the progress in fulfilling the directions of the March 1989 party Central Committee plenum on more fully involving the industrial and intellectual potential of towns in technically re-equipping agro-industrial production and in providing social amenities in the countryside. In a speech Comrade Ligachev turned the attention of the conference participants to the need to make headway every day in tackling the provision of essential foodstuffs for the inhabitants of towns and industrial centers. This is a task of exceptional political significance for urban and rural communists and for the soviet and economic aktivs of working people. Comrade Nikonov took part in the conference's work.

Ryzhkov Meeting With Cinematographers Reported
LD1505150389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 15 May 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] A plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Cinematographers opened in Moscow. (Igor Nikolayevich Lizakovskiy) doctor of philosophical sciences and a secretary of that creative union, was interviewed by Lidiya Sechenova, our correspondent.

[Sechenova] (Igor Nikolayevich), could you acquaint us with the latest news in cinematography?

[(Lizakovskiy)] On the 12th there was an event which we regard as a kind of landmark or turning point in our work. A large and very substantive conversation took place between a group of cinematographers and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. We tried, literally, to discuss all the highly important issues in the life of a cinematographer and the union. I am very pleased that, in my opinion, mutual understanding was achieved. In the very near future a finished document will be presented to the Council of Ministers, which will become the legal foundation of our restructuring, for which we are already campaigning so much.

[Sechenova] And was it resolved whether the USSR State Committee for Cinematography will survive? Or will it come under the USSR Ministry of Culture?

[(Lizakovskiy)] This question was resolved. But, you know, we are all cautious people, and until there is a definitive decision, it is hard to say yes or no. But at the level of accords, let us say, it was decided that a central body for state management of cinematography, as embodied by our state committee, will remain. We also raised the issue of the situation in all the union republics, where the state committees have, in general, been merged with the ministries of culture. This is not completely normal, it is completely abnormal. But we will need to return to this matter and, probably campaign for

the independence of cinematography. But at the level of the center at least, I believe this question has been resolved, and we are all very happy about this. It means that the unity of our sector is preserved and that is the main thing now. [passage omitted]

Speakers Address Cinematographers Congress

LD1505204189 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—Restructuring and the democratic changes in the life of Soviet society have immeasurably broadened creative oportunities for art workers, said director Andrey Smirnov, a leader of the Cinema Workers' Union of the USSR. "Never before have cinema workers been granted such freedom in the choice of topics and plots or in interpreting events of the present and the past", he said addressing the plenum of this organisation, which opened in Moscow today. "This is an important result of our activity in the three years that have elapsed since the past congress of the cinema workers of the USSR which adopted a broad programme of changes in this area of Soviet art".

There are no forbidden topics for us now, Andrey Smirnov went on to say. Sharply critical films prevail in the repertoire. Analyzing the condition of today's society, the makers of these films tend to dwell on the negative phenomena in their desire to help society to get rid of them. The films expose corruption, red tape and other vices inherited from time of stagnation and administrative diktat. Among the films are: "Shok" (Shock), "Merzavets" (Scoundrel), "Sluga" (Man Servant), "Tragediya v Stile Rok" (A Tragedy Rock Style), and "Otsy" (The Fathers). Some films are devoted to problems of young people, their lack of spirituality and their civic passivity. Among these we have "Malenkaya Vera" (Little Vera), "Menya Zovut Arlekino" (My Name Is Arlenkino) and "Soblaznitelnitsa" (The Temptress). Today's films recreate the tragic pages of history, fill in blank spots and reconstruct the lives of the victims of Stalin's purges.

Cinema critic Irina Shilova noted the importance of a further democratisation of the situation inside the Film Workers' Union. Speakers at the plenum pointed out that a new model of cinema has been created after the union's congress. At the same time one could hear alarmed voices talking about a slowing pace of cinema restructuring and of implementing the congress's decisions which, in turn, means that its basic ideas need further development and adjustment.

The plenum on the problems of artistic creation will work for three days. It is attended by cinema workers from all Soviet republics and guests from Bulgaria, France, the USA, Canada and other countries.

14 May Armenian Repeat Elections Results Reported

NC1805125789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 17 May 89

[The results of the repeat elections held on 14 May 1989 for the USSR people's deputies from the Armenian Republic, as released by the Electoral Committees of the okrugs]

[Text] The repeat elections for the USSR people's deputies were held in Soviet Armenia on 14 May 1989. Five candidates for people's deputies were running for election in one territorial okrug and 11 candidates in three national-territorial okrugs.

The representatives of the labor collectives and public organizations, individuals having the trust of the candidates, and representatives from [word indistinct], and television and radio were present during the vote counting and pronouncement of results at the elections centers.

The following have been elected USSR people's deputies: Sos Ardashesovich Sarkisyan from Yerevan Soviet Territorial Okrug No 734; Galina Saraboysova from Yerevan Soviet National-Territorial Okrug No 393; Garen Aramovich Simonyan from Yerevan-Zeytun District National-Territorial Okrug No 394; and Sero Nikolayevich Khanzadyan from Etchmiadzin National-Territorial Okrug No 416.
[Signed] Presidium of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

[Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 0425 GMT on 18 May in a similar report identifies Sos Ardashesovich Sarkisyan as "an actor at Yerevan's academic theater named after Sundukyan, not a party member"; Galina Vasilevna Saraboysova as "a senior researcher at the interethnic research center attached to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, not a party member"; Garen Aramovich Simonyan as "deputy chief editor of VERATSENVATS HAYASTAN (REBORN ARMENIA), party member"; and Sero Nikolayevich Khanzadyan as a "writer, party member".]

27 Jun Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Agenda

NC1905065589 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Yerevan, 18 May (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decreed that the 9th session of the 11th Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Congress will be convened on 27 June 1989 in Yerevan City.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium states that the 9th session of the 11th Supreme Soviet Congress plans to discuss the following problems which remained inconclusive during the 22 November session:

—The republic soviet and economic bodies' implementation of the decisions made by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

—The Armenian SSR draft law on public debate of important state affairs.

During the session it is also planned to discuss the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR.

Arutyunyan Briefs Armenian People's Deputies
NC1705132989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 17 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] A meeting of the USSR people's deputies elected from our republic was held yesterday at the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. The meeting was opened by Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR people's deputy. He briefed those present on the (?proposals) for the preparations and procedures for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to be convened in Moscow on 25 May.

The following USSR people's deputies addressed the meeting: Khanzatyan, [name indistinct], Mirzoyan, Khandzyan, [name indistinct], the catholicos of all Armenians Vazgen I, Vartanyan, Ambartsumyan, (?Daruboykova), Grigoryan, [name indistinct] and [name indistinct].

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, addressed the meeting. He informed the participants that a specially formed CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission will meet on 19 May in Moscow under Comrade Ryzhkov to discuss a report by Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administration Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, on the situation that has developed in the oblast and on the measures to resolve it.

The paper has published a (?special) report on the meeting held at the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium on its front page.

Arutyunyan Addresses Armenian Academy of Sciences
NC1905111889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 19 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The annual meeting of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, held between 17 and 18 May in Yerevan, dwelled on the need to display a lofty sense of responsibility towards the public and for a decisive and multisided approach to the solution to the unusual problems that have evolved.

The meeting discussed the results achieved by the academic institutions last year, a year which brought untold trials to the Armenian people.

Academician Viktor Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, opened the meeting with an introductory address.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party, who participated in the general meeting of the academy, also spoke. Analyzing the situation in the republic and the reasons behind it, he said that the socioeconomic problems, accumulated over decades, people's feelings of a lack of compensation despite hard and tiresome work, the [word indistinct] renaissance of national self-consciousness, the dramatic surge of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, the devastating earthquake, and the tragic condition of hundreds of thousands of people have (?generated) a [word indistinct] complex situation.

An extensive ARMENPRES report on the academy's annual general meeting has been published on the first and second pages of the paper.

NKAO Administration's 'Uninformed Stance' Criticized
NC1905094489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] The Artsakh [Armenian name for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO] is once more in tribulation. The strikes have started again. Two weeks ago the Azerbaijani soviet government approved a decision to build residential houses and industrial and other types of construction in a number of Azeri villages in the oblast. At the outset, that decision was presented as a manifestation of caring for the workers and as a step contributing to the socioeconomic development plan of the oblast. Recently, it was planned to build sewing and knitwear factories employing 500 people, to create (?mass production lines) and to enlarge the local branch of the production association, all in the (?Krkrchan) village of Stepanakert rayon alone. Residential houses and similar buildings were to be erected in the (?Khochalu) village of the Askeran Rayon, the (?Malibeklu) village of the Shushinskiy Rayon, and in the Azeri villages of the Marduninskiy Rayon.

For an uninformed person the opposition to such good work might appear very strange. However, the people started to protest again. To begin with, they were justly enraged at the premeditated selection of Azeri villages and the expansion of construction work in these villages. Emotions were further incited when it became apparent that these activities were illegal because the consent of the local authorities had not been given. The uninformed stance of the Special Administration Committee (?stood out) in particular.

What are we to make of the interview given to the all-union television station which said that this year alone R96 million has been allocated for the development of the Armenian-inhabited villages of the oblast and R4 million for Azeri villages? Since when has it been the norm to allocate capital to the residential localities on the basis of ethnic identity and not to the rayons? All these actions were taken at a time when there already were (?precedents) as to what could result from each step which has not been thought through, or rather, taken as a result of motives of national identity.

NKAO Television, Telephone Links Upgraded

PM1805095189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 7 May 89 p 2

[A. Davidyan report under the rubric "Today is Radio Day, A Holiday for Workers in All Communications Sectors": "Stepanakert on Sound and in Vision..."]

[Text] Artsakh has waited a long time for this day. People gathered around their television sets used to talk in an undertone, seemingly afraid of frightening away the far-off signal from the relay transmitter. Yet this time the small screen was unexpectedly bright. At first the picture flickered and then, as if obeying the announcer's voice, clear outlines began to emerge. Thus the first trial transmission from Stepanakert Television Studio appeared on screens in Artsakh 15 May last year. People held their breath as they watched the 30-minute announcement about the newly-created studio and an account of its equipment and technical resources. Then television journalists talked about the future of the studio and the prospect of developing television broadcasting in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Two weeks later, on 1 June, the oblast watched the first transmission of the television studio's regular program broadcasting for 1 hour on average. That day, International Children's Day, the broadcasters also requested protection for their own newborn, the Stepanakert Television transmission. The transmission has gone out since then, with a regular flexible slot in the Central Television First Program lasting approximately 6 hours an evening. This "slot" is determined by the importance of the broadcasts transmitted. The "child" will soon celebrate its first birthday.

"A great deal has already been done," G. Sogomonyan, chairman of the NKAO Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, said. "We are raising questions of a social, economic, and political nature, providing coverage, where possible, of life in the oblast and its problems. There is tremendous interest in the program. That is understandable, since the question of creating it was raised a long time ago.

"I would like to express gratitude on behalf of our collective to my colleagues from the Armenian Television Center, without whose material and technical, organizational, and consultative help it would have been extremely difficult to establish the local program. Specialists from Moscow, Sochi, Novosibirsk, and the Baltic republics also offered us practical assistance. The question of organizing the relay of central and local programs also holds center stage at the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry. That is why I believe that this project has a broad future."

My interlocutor's optimism is well-founded.

Despite all the difficulties and obstacles, Armenian Television Channel 1 has also been transmitted to Artsakh since 1 May last Year. It is hard to overestimate this instance of spiritual unification. Despite the poor reception and the obstacles, the television, the people of Artsakh affirmed, has become one of the prime symbols of the oblast's rebirth. People are hurrying to improve and materialize this link. They are abreast of all the events and changes relating to television broadcasting and telephone installation in the oblast.

This desire to speed up events can be attributed to the following: Only Stepanakert and certain villages in Askeranskiy and Martuninskiy Rayons can receive Armenian Central Television and local television programs. The 100-watt transmitter is not powerful enough to cover the entire region without relay installations. It is not for nothing that the oblast is described as Nagornyy [mountainous]. Topographical variations substantially complicate program transmission. That is why the area was surveyed and technical targets for designing television systems were drawn up last year by specialists from local and Armenian Television. Then the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry prepared a general plan for the development of communications and television broadcasting. Moreover, the targets also encompass the problems of telephone installation in rayon centers and major population centers. There are, in fact, 15,000 outstanding applications for telephone installation in the oblast.

A project for the construction of an exchange in Gadrutskiy and Martuninskiy Rayons is ready right now. People in the NKAO are also pinning great hopes on the installation of a 500-watt transmitter here under a protocol adopted by a USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry conference. This will allow partial improvement of the oblast service prior to the commissioning of the main facilities which, as was noted at the last session of the Special Administration Committee, is extremely unsatisfactory. For instance, 50 percent of the 8 operational municipal automated telephone exchanges are outdated and physically worn out. Exchanges dating back to the fifties with minimal opportunities for automation are operating in rayon centers. The session also mentioned that certain rayon villages are not even provided with radio facilities. Population centers with appropriate equipment are often deprived of the opportunity of receiving radio broadcasts. The sector lags substantially behind on many counts.

Meanwhile people at Armenia's radio and television broadcasting center are training specialists for work at the planned stations and have offered the oblast every kind of help.

"The main task," V. Manasyan, deputy chief of Armenia's radio and television broadcasting center, said, "is to ensure that the entire population of the NKAO is reached by television broadcasts and communication systems over the next few years. Sometimes a village or a group of several villages has only one or two telephones. Reception quality for all four programs must be improved. The construction of radio relay lines and retransmitters has been divided into several sections. The first will be introduced as planned at the end of the year. Provided that the Stepanakert studio is supplied with the appropriate equipment, these and other measures will also enable us to receive the Artsakh program in Yerevan. It will be possible to have joint broadcasts, television hookups..."

There is indeed a great deal of work to do. It is being done at a vigorous pace. People know this as they promote work at the local level. Every village and home is preparing to celebrate the birth of their "television baby."

Azerbaijan 1989 Census Results Published

NC1805114689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Today the newspapers published the information released by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Statistics Committee on the initial results of the all-union census in 1989. According to this information, the population of Azerbaijan SSR was 7,029,000 on 12 January 1989.

Preliminary RSFSR Census Statistics Examined

18300570 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 May 89 p 2

[Commentary by P. Guzhvin, chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Statistics: "An Urban Accent: Commentary on the Preliminary Census Results"]

[Text] Our correspondent asked P. Guzhvin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee for Statistics, to talk about how the census was conducted in the Russian Federation and what is indicated by analysis of the preliminary results:

"First of all I should note that organizing a major statistical operation like a census in a territory as huge as that of Russia was by no means a simple matter. We could not have accomplished it if we had had to rely solely on the efforts of specialists from RSFSR State Committee for Statistics organs. Therefore I would like to take this opportunity to say thank you to all the people who actively assisted us in this matter, one which is of importance to the entire state. They included over 726,000 direct participants in the census: workers from enterprises, organizations and institutions, instructors and students from VUZ's [higher educational institutions] and technical schools."

"Thanks to the active support we received from party and soviet organs continuously and on all levels, we were able to cope with the financial and transportation-related aspects of the census in a swift, efficient and precise manner. More than 80,000 spaces were made available in buildings in our republic for the housing of census personnel and their special computer equipment and for the storage of many millions of copies of census documents. During the actual census we had approximately 20,000 vehicles at our disposal, including all-terrain vehicles and helicopters."

"Today I can state with confidence that overall the census was conducted in the RSFSR in an organized manner and in an atmosphere of broad glasnost; people took a great deal of interest in it and demonstrated a great deal of social activism."

"The preliminary figures which we can present to the readers of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA here today permit us to draw only the most general conclusions about changes in the population of the Russian Federation, its territorial distribution, the ratio of urban to rural population, etc. As of this time data have been tabulated only for a limited number of indices; these will be further refined when the processing of all census materials is completed, sometime next year."

"What do the initial census returns indicate? As of 12 January 1989 the population of Russia was 147.4 million. This was 51.4 percent of our country's total population. Over the past decade the number of persons living in our republic has increased by 9.8 million, i.e. by 7.2 percent. This increase occurred primarily as a result of natural population growth, which accounted for 82 percent of total population increase during the 1979-88 period. However, an influx of population from other union republics has been observable here since 1975; during the 1979-88 period this accounted for population growth averaging approximately 177,000 people per year. Curiously, the opposite was true up until the middle of the 1970's: the number of persons migrating out of the Russian Federation exceeded the number of new arrivals. Population losses due to out-migration during the 1959-69 period totalled 150,000 annually."

"Population growth was recorded over a majority of our republic's territory. The most notable growth occurred in Siberia and the Far East. For example, the population of Tyumen Oblast increased by 63 percent as compared to the 1979 level; there was a 29 percent population increase in the Yakutskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]; and Khabarovskiy Kray, the Buryatskaya ASSR and Tomsk Oblast all showed increases of 16 percent.... Overall the population growth rate in

Siberia and the Far East during this 10-year period was greater than the RSFSR average by a factor of two. This was primarily due to the rapid development of many industrial sectors, capacities in the fuel and energy complex, minerals and raw materials processing, and the forestry industry in those areas, and to the strengthening of the construction base."

"However, in some regions of our republic population has declined over the past 10 years. In Pskov Oblast this was due to natural population loss, i.e. a death rate exceeding the birth rate. In Ivanovo, Bryansk, Orel, Ryazan, Voronezh and Kursk oblasts and in the Mordovskaya ASSR the losses resulted from emigration. In Tula and Tambov oblasts both causes were evident. It is noteworthy that a population decline also occurred in the aforementioned regions between the 1970 and 1979 censuses, and in Pskov, Ryazan, Kursk and Tambov oblasts during the preceding decade as well."

"The present census strengthens Russia's reputation as the most urbanized of all union republics: a little less than three-quarters of its population—over 108 million people—live in urban areas. And the proportion of urban population in the RSFSR is constantly growing: in 1959 it was 52 percent, in 1970 62 percent, in 1979 69 percent, and in 1989 74 percent, as compared to 66 percent for our country as a whole."

"The greatest preponderance of urban population was noted in Murmansk, Sverdlovsk, Kemerovo, Chelyabinsk, Ivanovo, Yaroslavl and Sakhalinskaya oblasts, the Karelskaya ASSR, and in Tula, Kuybyshev, Irkutsk, Kamchatkaskaya and Magadan oblasts; in these areas the proportion of urban population ranges from 81 to 92 percent."

"An overwhelming majority (87.5 percent) of the urban population lives in cities. The remainder live in urban-type settlements, resort areas and dacha settlements. Incidentally, over the past decade 39 new cities were formed in our republic. Our total number of cities now stands at 1,037, taking into account the fact that the city of Solntsevo was annexed by Moscow. A total of 12 Russian cities have populations of over one million; there are 23 such cities in the entire country. During the period between censuses Kazan, Rostov-on-Don, Perm and Ufa were added to the list of 'millionaire' cities. The population of large cities—those having populations between 100,000 and 500,000—increased by five percent as compared to 1979; population increase in major cities (between 500,000 and one million residents) was 11 percent; the population growth of 'millionaire' cities was 33 percent."

"The eastern regions added an especially large number of urban residents. In Tyumen Oblast, for example, the number of urban residents has doubled since 1979; the population of Surgut grew by a factor of 2.3, that of Nizhnevartovsk by a factor of 2.2, and so on. However, it is common knowledge that the progressive urbanization of these regions has not been accompanied by corresponding development in the social realm. This is also attested to by statistical data from Tyumen Oblast. In the past 10 years retail trade turnover per capita has increased there by only two percent, as compared to an increase of 14 percent in the RSFSR overall; the volume of consumer services provided grew by 49 percent in Tyumen Oblast and by 60 percent in the RSFSR overall. In that oblast the total amount of living space per capita is 13.5 square meters, while 15.1 square meters is our republic average. During the current academic year 136,000 urban schoolchildren in Tyumen Oblast were studying on a second shift—more by a factor of three than in 1979. This lag in the social sphere is one of the main reasons why people who go there do not stay and become permanent residents of Siberia and the Far East. The volume of return migration out of these regions is very substantial and is resulting in major non-productive losses."

"As for the rural population, it continued to decrease in size in Russia. According to preliminary census data it totalled 39 million. That means that over the past decade there has been a decline of 3.2 million in the rural population and the rate of decrease was 7.6 percent in our republic, as compared to a decline of 0.9 percent for the country as a whole. There has been an especially marked decline in the population of all oblasts in the Central Chernozem region (18 percent) and in 27 out of 29 territories in the Non-Chernozem Zone (13 percent)."

"This situation is due primarily to the exodus of population to urban areas. Although the intensity of this emigration is constantly decreasing, it has already reached the critical level in a number of oblasts, as was noted at the March 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum."

"Steps were taken in the 1980's to improve the sociodemographic situation. This has brought about some improvement in the rural population's reproductive index. Whereas just prior to the previous census the birth rate in rural areas was lower than in urban areas, during the past decade it has risen: the rural birth rate is currently 18 per 1,000 persons, as compared to 15 per 1,000 persons in urban areas. However, the death rate in rural areas is still higher than in urban areas by a factor of 1.3. This can be explained by the fact that there are substantially more elderly persons living in rural areas."

"The task set forth at the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum of bringing about a genuine village renaissance has been made the cornerstone of the party's agrarian policy; it will undoubtedly require radical improvements in the social infrastructure of villages. It will be impossible to correct the demographic situation in rural areas of Russia unless such improvements are made."

"The current sex ratio in our republic is as follows: 69.1 million men (47 percent of the total) and 78.3 million women (53 percent). In other words, for every 1,000 men in our republic there are 1,132 women. The 1959 census found this ratio to be 1,242 women per 1,000 men. This improvement is the result of a number of factors. Above all the consequences of primarily male losses in the Great Patriotic War can now be felt only in the older generations, because over one-half of the Russian Federation's present population was born in the postwar period. A major role was also played by the fact that in the period between censuses there was a 22-percent decline in the death rate among working-age men. Male life expectancy has risen by three years but still remains almost 10 years less than female life expectancy."

"There are a number of regions where the number of women greatly exceeds the number of men. Thus, in Leningrad there as 1,229 women for every 1,000 men; the corresponding number of women is 1,221 in Moscow, 1,215 in Ivanovo Oblast, and ranges from 1,199 down to 1,186 in Kalinin, Moscow, Gorkiy, Belgorod, Tula, Vladimir, Yaroslavl and Voronezh oblasts. The census also recorded the opposite situation: in Kamchatskaya Oblast there are only 925 women for every 1,000 men; in Magadan Oblast there are 938, in the Komi ASSR 961, in Amurskaya Oblast 982, and in the Yakutskaya ASSR 987 women per 1,000 men."

"In conclusion I would like to note once again that all these assessments, like the data upon which they are based, are still only of a preliminary nature. Census materials have tremendous potential regarding the development of programs for the purposeful guidance of demographic processes in the interest of our entire society."

Uzbek Minister Describes Recent Tashkent 'Ruckus'
18300584 Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA in Russian 1 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Minister of Foreign Affairs U.S. Rakhimov; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] **An UzTAG [Uzbek press agency] correspondent discusses the conflicts in Vuzgorodok in Tashkent with Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] foreign affairs minister U.S. Rakhimov.**

[UzTAG] Uchkun Sadykovich, first of all a little more detail about what happened in Vuzgorodok last Saturday. The population of the city and perhaps even of the entire republic have heard so many of the most unthinkable and fantastic rumors that everyone would like to hear the details from competent sources.

[Rakhimov] Somewhere around 11:30 on the night of 22 April the duty section of the Sabir-Rakhimovskiy rayon internal affairs department [ROVD] received a report that a conflict had arisen in Vuzgorodok near Tashkent State University. Police rushed to the scene and restored order. A more detailed picture emerges from the first preliminary results.

Two women—M. Alkenov, born 1964, unemployed, and Z. Tastantekova, born 1966, a painter in SU [construction administration] 45—came to dormitory No 85 that evening and demanded that the janitor let them in to see some friends of theirs who are foreign students. The janitor, naturally, refused, since it was almost 11 pm. The women, who were slightly loaded, raised a ruckus. A group of students from the neighboring dormitory ran out to see what the noise was all about. They heaped insults on the women.

[UzTAG] Excuse me, but according to the rumors that are circulating in Tashkent now, it was foreign students who insulted them....

[Rakhimov] No, that is not true. It was our students who did that. Some of the young people burst into dormitory No 85 and disturbed the peace of the residents. During the course of the ruckus windows were broken and personal property was stolen.

[UzTAG] Did you manage to find out which students were most active in the incident and can you name them?

[Rakhimov] Yes, they were students in the preparatory department and students of Tashkent State University who were arrested by internal affairs agency workers. In the interests of the investigation it does not seem expedient to give their names at this time. But I can assure you that measures will be taken against the guilty parties in accordance with the law, which will be reported separately.

[UzTAG] Do you think, Uchkun Sadykovich, that this conflict was a random occurrence? Or was it ripening over a long time?

[Rakhimov] Our workers have registered cases of illegal actions against foreign students before this occurrence and since. What causes them? In my opinion, the women here were nothing more than a pretext. One must look deeper for the reasons.

[UzTAG] What is the situation now in Vuzgorodok?

[Rakhimov] I cannot say that everything has lightened up and calmed down. But the situation there is being monitored quite thoroughly and there have been no especially significant outbreaks of hooliganism.

[UzTAG] Uchkun Sadykovich, I should like to take this occasion to ask you to dispel or confirm other rumors which are circulating among Tashkent residents. They say that for 1 May they are preparing some extremist

demonstrations, that they will forcibly shave the heads of women with short hair who are wearing black pantyhose and try to injure them with deep stab wounds.

[Rakhimov] We are carefully observing the development of events and changes in public life. But we have nothing that shows a real foundation for these rumors.

The situation in Tashkent as well as in the republic as a whole is being monitored. And those who are spreading the rumors.... We are working on this as well. Additions to the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code introduced by the ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of 11 April envision liability, and for this especially, when it publicizes terrorism, national dissension, and other illegal actions.

[UzTAG] Does this mean that the holidays will not be marred by anything?...

[Rakhimov] In any event, internal affairs agency workers will do everything they can to make sure that the peace of the citizens is not disturbed.

Uzbek Bureau Debates Antisocial Manifestations

PM1905110989 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] As reported, the latest session of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined the question "of measures to enhance the prevention of antisocial manifestations in the republic."

The processes of democratization and glasnost developing in the country and in the republic are taking place against the background of the growth of people's self-awareness and their increased social and political activeness. Independent public organizations and informal associations are being created. Many of them want to take an active part in the acceleration of restructuring and the practical solution of the problems which have accumulated in the republic. A good example of activeness is set by the internationalist servicemen who are creating military sports clubs everywhere for adolescents and are now preparing to create an association. The union of pupils and workers of children's homes, the Samarkand "Esperanto" international friendship club, the "Simona" amateur studio in Bukhara Oblast, and the "Poisk" club in Tashkent Oblast have won renown. A public committee to save the Aral Sea is working fruitfully under the leadership of a deputies' group of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

At the same time the Central Committee Bureau noted that alongside information associations of a positive orientation groups have appeared whose activists are trying for their own ambitious purposes to use people's healthy aspirations to take part in the restructuring processes. Individual self-styled leaders are inciting people to mass actions and are poorly informed of the possible consequences for public order and the moral climate in society.

Special activeness is being displayed by some organizers of the unregistered informal organization calling itself "Birlik," who are essentially reluctant to take into account the fact that the party and state organs are performing a large amount of work in the republic to resolve the acute socioeconomic and cultural problems which have accumulated. They persistently focus the population's attention on questions which are already being consistently resolved in the republic. At the same time they offer no paths for their implementation. While verbally advocating equal rights for languages, these representatives of the so-called "Birlik" claim at the same time that bilingualism is leading to the death of the Uzbek language. Advocating slogans about the intolerability of riots, they themselves refute these slogans with calls for unauthorized meetings and demonstrations, inciting various groups of people to take part in them. They are pushing mainly toward putting pressure on the organs of power and discrediting them.

The activity of some activists of some other autonomous organizations trying to attract people, mainly young people, into the channel of ultimatum demands is also of a negative nature. The desire to provoke believers to violations of legislation on religious cults is being manifested increasingly markedly.

In letters and verbally the republic's working people are expressing alarm at the extremist manifestations and demanding the political protection of citizens' personal rights and freedoms enshrined in the USSR Constitution and the safeguarding of the opportunity to live and work in a normal law-abiding atmosphere.

Under these conditions many party and soviet organs are displaying intolerable dilatoriness, political carelessness, and indifference. The propaganda groups created under the party committees often display passiveness and distort open discussion. The measures adopted by party and soviet organs for the in-depth analysis and practical solution of existing problems and difficulties are not brought promptly to the notice of working people and young people. The law enforcement organs make only feeble use of the prestige and power of the law in work to prevent mass manifestations and various unauthorized actions.

The Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has demanded that the departments of the Central Committee and party oblast, city, and rayon committees, soviet, law enforcement, trade union, and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organs implement specific actions to resolutely strengthen discipline, organization, and order, to step up political work among the population, and to ensure normal conditions for citizens' work, study, and leisure.

It is proposed to concentrate organizational and political explanatory work with people on the fact that the work which is being performed in the republic for normalization and moral regeneration is the practical embodiment of the party's general course aimed at the specific solution of urgent problems in the spheres of the economy, social life, ecology, the harmonization of interethnic relations, and the satisfaction of people's demands for food and mass consumer goods and others. At the present crucial stage of society's development it is the duty of every worker in the republic to find his specific place in the program which is being implemented for the speediest surmounting of existing difficulties and to resolutely halt the attempts of some irresponsible elements to destabilize the situation.

It has been recommended that members of informal organizations be enlisted more widely to the activity of the commissions of party committees in the practical quest for ways to resolve existing problems, to the active discussion of the draft program for accelerating the socioeconomic development of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and to improve the well being of the republic's population in 1991-1995.

The attention of Communists working in the mass media and the creative unions and above all of the leaders has been drawn to the need for a balanced, responsible approach in the analysis and coverage of problems which the republican party organization is now resolving and for the correct shaping of public opinion.

The party committees and primary party organizations have been instructed to ensure, in the labor collectives, an atmosphere of high political vigilance, to assess in a principled manner instances of indifference, connivance, and lack of principle with regard to extremist actions and manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, to resolutely halt any fabrications aimed at undermining the foundations of the state and public order, and not to leave unheeded a single instance of illegal actions. In labor collectives, educational establishments, and people's places of residence the forces of political groups must develop discussions on the practical aspects of implementing restructuring in the republic.

The Central Committee Bureau demanded that the party oblast, city, and rayon committees step up the demand on the Communists who are leaders with regard to the political situation in the collectives and their personal responsibility in educational work. There should be a prompt examination of the party and Komsomol responsibility of those who allow inflammatory actions. It has been recommended that in May meetings with the agenda "on Communists' tasks to step up political responsibility for implementing the party's course toward restructuring" be held in all primary party organizations.

It has been recommended that Communists working in the local soviet executive committees keep track of the procedure laid down by the law for holding gatherings and meetings, ruling out blunders in the organization of working people's leisure and mass walks. The organizers of any mass events must be warned in advance of their personal responsibility for the violation of public order.

It has been taken into account that the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, with the participation of a broad range of specialists, is now elaborating a draft law on the procedure for the registration and activity of voluntary societies and public associations.

The Central Committee departments and oblast party committees have been instructed to organize the extensive propaganda and explanation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 8 April 1989 decree aimed at the fuller and more effective use of the means of legally defending the Soviet constitutional system and national equal rights. To this end it has been suggested that mass demonstrations be organized by political groups of the Central Committee and party oblast, city, and rayon committees in the labor collectives and at the population's places of residence and that the relevant rubrics be introduced to newspapers and journals and on television and radio programs.

It has been recommended that the Komsomol Central Committee and the republic's Komsomol committees examine how the forms and methods of work with informal organizations which have taken shape comply with present-day demands and actively enlist them to the solution of tasks connected with organizing young people's sensible leisure and the conservation of historical and cultural and natural monuments and develop other constructive forms of cooperation.

CPSU members working in the Uzbek SSR Prosecutor's office, ministries of internal affairs and justice, and the Supreme Court have been asked to make fuller use of the power of the law with regard to people who allow violations of legality and law and order, who distribute provocative rumors and leaflets, who help, by their inflammatory actions, to kindle interethnic hostility, and who incite people to riots. Such instances must be widely publicized. The propaganda of Soviet legislation among working people and young people must be improved and respect for Soviet laws must be formed in people.

Uzbek, Tajik Muslim Influence Examined

JN1405195889 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 11 May 89 p 25

[By Salamah Musafir]

[Excerpts] Moscow—Will "Islamic fundamentalists" stage a revival in Soviet Uzbekistan's capital, Tashkent? This question has been making the rounds of political observers in the Soviet capital in the wake of what official media here call riots that erupted in Tashkent on

21 April 1989. It led to suspension of classes in the Uzbekistan capital, where a large number of Arab students are enrolled along with hundreds of foreign students, mostly African. According to official estimates, there are approximately 30,000 foreign students.

Informed sources told AL-ANBA' that the incidents were sparked on that evening by a minor incident at the university campus incorporating the foreign student dormitories. When African students of an unknown nationality attempted to take two girls to their rooms they were thwarted, leading to scuffles between them and the wardens. The latter were joined by mostly rural and devoutly Muslim Uzbek students, who wore beards in the month of Ramadan.

When police attempted to intervene, more than 200 Uzbek students surrounded the dormitories and began hurling stones. Some of them held loudspeakers denouncing foreign students, "who have brought prostitution and degradation to our city" and issued threats that the two girls be handed over. The "sermons" developed into criticism of the general conduct of the indecent female students and went on to demand a ban on "revealing clothes" and short skirts. A large number of Uzbek students gathered around the university buildings. The "siege" was said to have lasted several days, during which only Arab students, being Muslims, were allowed out to do their shopping. In the meantime, "immoral acts" continued to be denounced over loudspeakers.

A number of Uzbek students boycotted classes. Other extremist slogans, some with fundamentalist overtones, were said to have been shouted. But these soon disappeared. Witnesses link this development with a number of organizations or fundamentalist groups that have existed in Tashkent for some time, although officials in the city's religious department dismiss these as a handful of individuals.

AL-ANBA' asked Mufti Muhammad Sadiq Mamayusupov [name as published], head of the Tashkent-based religious administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan about the attitude of the administration toward these groups, especially the self-styled "Islam and Democracy." The mufti said: We only hear, but have not experienced, what you are talking about. They do not command public support. Nor are they embraced with any zeal by the people. We are convinced that this movement was inspired by the West through a man named Almas Pestikov [name as published], who hails from Kazakhstan and claims to speak in the name of Islam and the teachings of the honorable prophet. He has Western connections. Having once met him for half an hour, I emerged with the impression that he does not know the first thing about Islam and that, morally speaking, he is not remotely related to Islam. His jurisprudence is nothing more than distortions gleaned from translated books. His motives are purley political, and he seeks to lead people to matters that have nothing to do with their religion or this world.

It is worth mentioning that Radio Liberty transmits programs in Soviet languages, including the Russian and Tajik languages. This radio station is based in the FRG and financed by the U.S. Congress. It conducts biweekly interviews. Every week it holds such interviews with Almas Pestikov, who talks about what he calls the Islamic revival in Uzbekistan and the central Asian republics and who severely attacks the religious departments in these areas, accusing them of collusion with state organs against Islam. [passage omitted]

[Musafir] Do you admit the existence of fundamentalist movements among Soviet Muslims? How do these movements express themselves? Do you believe there is any Iranian influence on them?

[Mamayusupov] We cannot claim that there are fundamentalist movements in our country. London spread such reports. They say there are Muslim Brotherhood members among the Soviet Muslims. I deny the existence of any Muslim Brotherhood organization. The Soviet Muslims have deep roots, and they do not need any fundamentalist movements to entrench themselves. This is the truth. Regarding Iran's influence, I can say the great heritage of the Soviet Muslims is too strong to be affected by foreign factors. The national feelings of the Muslims is very strong, and no foreign factor can make them abandon the methods of their forefathers.

[Musafir] What kind of social and political role can Soviet Muslims play in domestic life? And have they relations with Islamic institutions and organizations abroad?

[Mamayusupov] Islam is not rituals, but life and practice. During our fourth conference, we made a decision urging the need to participate in the current activities in the country. We support the purging of the government institutions and organs of bribery, corruption, and nepotism. We also support the 3-year-old campaign against alcohol, prostitution, drugs, and theft. As Muslims, we should be the first to fight these damaging phenomena in the society because our religion urges us to do so. Officials promised us to allocate radio and television programs and space in local and central newspapers for the ulema, who can demonstrate their positions on these bad phenomena and can urge people to renounce them by drawing attention to their dangers.

He added: We are trying to strengthen our relations with our brothers in religion abroad in order to benefit from the great heritage and to study and publish it among our Muslim people.

[Musafir] Will ulema from the four Soviet religious departments enter the new parliament?

[Mamayusupov] This difficult question has been posed several times. Elections are not held on religious bases but in accordance with other legal considerations. Of course, there will be Muslim parliamentary members, but not on a religious basis. I know that Shukrallah Basha Zadah, head of the religious department in Azerbaijan [name, title as published], will run in the elections. [passage omitted]

Leaders Queried on 'Neglect' of Chernobyl Problem

PM1505111189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 89 p 1

[Letter from writer and USSR people's deputy A. Adamovich to B. Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and N.F. Lukonin, minister of nuclear power generation: "A Cloud Marked 'Secret'"]

[Text] To Boris Yevdokimovich Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex, and Nikolay Fedorovich Lukonin, minister of nuclear power generation.

I will begin with an explanation. On 26 April there was a "silent rally" in Minsk: At the behest of the Belorussian People's Front organizing committee thousands of people gathered outside Government House. They stood in silence for a whole hour. Forgive the informal style, but weren't your ministry's ears burning? Because, of course, it was in people's thoughts. For so many years the official authorities remained silent about the Chernobyl tragedy of our republic's inhabitants, about its scale, but when the press finally spoke out it was they, the Belorussians, who were so expressively silent....

Over the years the inhabitants of dozens of rayons had it dinned into them that only three Belorussian rayons had been affected, while in the rest everything was normal. Then suddenly: "The thing is you cannot live here; sorry for keeping you here for 3 years. But at the moment we are still not able to resettle all of you. You have missed the boat. Money is tight, and then there was Armenia as well.... There is the Politburo resolution on additonal aid for stricken Belorussia, but there just is not the money to resettle everyone right now...."

Here is one of the letters I have received, and I am not alone, of course.

"The inhabitants of the village of Samotevichi in Kostyukovichskiy Rayon, Mogilev Oblast, appeal to you to evacuate us from the stringent radiation regime zone as soon as possible.

"I will not dwell in detail on all the facts, since the Health Ministry has decided on our evacuation from the zone because to remain in this zone would endanger the health of the entire population.

"The level of contamination of our lands, that is, the area under crops, is between 45 and 100 curies and more per square kilometer. (The permitted norm is up to 15 curies—it would appear from scientists' tables—A. Adamovich). Our children were examined the other day. The examination found many sick children: first- and second-degree hypoplasia of the thyroid gland, enlargement of the lymph nodes, anemia, heart and nervous disorders. The doctors said that they must be evacuated immediately. But does the Health Ministry know about this? We were told at the oblast committee [obkom] that evacuation would take place in 2-3 years' time. But it is too late already to evacuate, quite apart from having to wait another 3 years. If people's health is under threat they must be moved into other rayons, into farms where there is housing. We believe such farms exist. And we will go anywhere if only to preserve our children's health and live a little longer for our children's sake. Let them pay us compensation for our homes and we will find work for ourselves wherever we can.

"We have written many letters about this to various authorities, to the Red Cross society commission, to the Mother and Child Protection Office, and other bodies, but there has been no answer so far.

"Yet the whole world responded to the Armenian disaster. They are building for them, but no one is building here, because our people are working in Armenia....

[Signed] "Ye.M. Rudenko, writer of the letter, and other inhabitants."

So, I have the following questions:

1. Is it true what the people of Mogilev Oblast believe (and this is confirmed by respectable scientists) that rayons of Mogilev Oblast remote from Chernobyl—Krasnopolskiy, Slavgorodskiy, Cherikovskiy, part of Kostyukovichskiy, Bykhovskiy, Klimovichskiy, and some others (also some rayons in Bryansk Oblast)—received such a dangerous dose of radiation because the Chernobyl cloud was "dropped" on them? They shot at it and brought it down. The cloud that was headed for Moscow. Well, the capital and its 8 million people had to be saved from the "peaceful atom." It had to be saved. But so do the inhabitants of the rayons which were landed with someone's else's disaster. And not 3 years later. But since those 3 years have passed, one must not delay a minute longer. As for money, we all know how drastic that situation is. We know that and that is why this is not only a question, but a request.

2. In other countries the procedure is: You have poisoned, you have contaminated, so you pay, you compensate for the damage. That is why in neighboring Finland there is nothing like what is happening in Ladoga; although the timber and pulp industry there is no match for ours, it sustains the country.

Since we are becoming a rule-of-law state, then you, the ministry of the "peaceful atom," are obliged to provide the billions to save children's "lymph nodes" amd "thyroids" in Mogilev, Gomel, and Bryansk Oblasts. You will ask: Where do we get the money? In other countries the answer would be: Get it wherever you can. But one can help, offer some advice: Do not build one or two nuclear power stations—then fewer will have to be closed! (And closing them is no cheaper than building them). It would seem appropriate then to call the Nuclear Power General Ministry the ministry for dismantling nuclear power stations. Why it has come about is a separate question.

The question here is: Does your department agree to shoulder the financial part of the burden of the disaster which it brought down on the heads of the totally innocent inhabitants of hundreds of villages and towns?

3. The situation in which the people of the abovementioned rayons (and many rayons not mentioned here) find themselves is the result not of any recent step to make all and everything secret, but in particular where there is a whiff of departmental license. We have already decided (and it is to be hoped that this will be reflected in the work of the Congress of People's Deputies and in the legislative acts of the new Supreme Soviet) that concealment of necessary information from the country, from citizens, and sometimes from the government itself, resulting in grave consequences, is a crime of office and even a crime against the state.

In view of what I have said, my question to you, the leader of nuclear power generation, is: Who personally is to blame, or what components of the apparatus, yours or any other, are to blame for what has happened, and must answer for such an inexcusable 3-year period of neglect of the health and interests of thousands and thousands of people? Or, if you want to be more polite: How come what happened happened?
[Signed] A. Adamovich, writer and USSR people's deputy.

The editorial board is prepared to allocate space in the newspaper for a reply to the matters raised by the deputy.

International Experts To Evaluate Ignalina AES

LD1505132089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 17 Mar 89 p 1

[Report of interview with Vytautas Sakalauskas, chairman, Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, by TIESA Correspondent Vilius Kavaliauskas; date and place not given: "Concerning International Experts Commission For Ignalina AES."]

[Text] **People in the republic continue to express concern over Ignalina nuclear electric power station [AES], questioning its reliability; they reproach union administrators for not giving sufficient attention to the power plant's safety. Skeptics can be heard who assert that nothing is being done to arrange evaluation by foreign experts of its reliability, and questions are being raised concerning the qualifications of such experts. Some are even attempting to exploit this issue in the election campaign.**

What is being done, or has been already accomplished, in investigating Ignalina AES safety? TIESA correspondent Vilius Kavaliauskas asked Vytautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, to answer this question. His official answer follows:

As has been previously announced in the press, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Government has sent a request to USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N. Ryzhkov to invite TATENA [UN International Atomic Energy Agency] experts to evaluate the safety of the Ignalina AES's operational units. The USSR Government has backed our request.

The process of this type of expert investigation constitutes a substantial and responsible undertaking. The experts will require suitable working conditions, and the preparation of considerable technical documentation and standard acts in English, etc. The cost will amount to several hundred thousand dollars.

The USSR Government and TATENA have agreed to have an expert of this organization visit Ignalina AES on July 4 of this year, to acquaint himself with the station's prospectus (a text of about 150 pages in English), and will finalize a program for the expert commission's work.

According to our current information, the main group, consisting of 7 commission experts, is to arrive on November 20 of this year. It is projected that it will include, in addition to TATENA experts, some specialists from the US, England, Finland and Spain. They will analyze the power station's operation and breakdown causes; they will pinpoint shortcomings and evaluate operational safety, as well as establish which areas will need improvement. This operation is projected to last 2-3 weeks.

Loading of Fuel Begins at Zaporozhye Nuclear Plant

PM1605115389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[I. Bilyk dispatch: "The Cost of Reliability"]

[Text] Energodar, Zaporozhye Oblast—The State Commission has authorized the loading of fuel in the No 5 reactor at the Zaporozhye Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES].

Construction and installation workers delayed for almost 5 months the commissioning of the latest power unit, whose capacity is double that of the Dneproges power complex. But this is only to their credit. The point is that, following the well-known tragic events at the Chernobyl AES, the condition of AES safety systems in

the country is undergoing a serious review. The model 1000 water-cooled, water-moderated reactors are more reliable and fundamentally different from those in use at Chernobyl. Nonetheless, the construction of Zaporozhye's latest "million kilowatter" was subjected to thorough analysis. Amendments aimed at enhancing safety were made to the blueprints while construction was already under way.

"The Zaporozhye AES Construction Administration collective," Chief Engineer V. Dudnik said, "jointly with the umbrella 'Atomenergoproyekt' Institute and the specialized installation organizations, carried out additional work worth R15 million. These additional costs will be recouped through accident-free operations."

The State Commission accepted the power unit without any remarks. The physical startup of the No 5 power unit, which began with the loading of fuel, will last 39 days and nights.

Radioactive Waste Apparently Dug Up in Irkutsk
18220125 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 May 89 p 2

[Article by I. Shirobokov: "How Rumors Are Born"]

[Text] Containers of radioactive waste were dug up 20-30 meters from the windows of the Irkutsk Polytechnical Institute. They had lain in the ground approximately 7-15 years.

The concern of the institute's associates was aroused, as people had worked for years in such dangerous proximity. Many recalled that mushrooms had grown luxuriantly on this patch; the experts had considered this plot to be their "own" and "specially fed."

How can such a thing have happened, how great is the danger, and who is to blame?

In time, competent organs must name the culpable. As far as the rest is concerned....

I inquired at the organization which conducted the excavation.

"Yes," states V. Litvintsev, chief of the geological production association. "We did the work; the containers and earth were taken away. But I am forbidden to give information, there is an order on this from Comrade Platonov."

I call the first deputy chairman of the oblast executive committee, chief of the economic planning administration L. Platonov, not comprehending how the chief of the economic planning administration had become a leading specialist in radiation....

The secretary invariably answered, "He's at a plenum...at the office...he's left for the day."

It is not the journalist's place to go running after officials, but to hurry them to prevent rumors. And the institute trade union must concern itself first and foremost with the health of its associates, and to obtain the appropriate expertise and investigation. But nothing of the kind occurred.

It is completely possible that the radiation level was meager and there is no cause for alarm. That is probably exactly how is is. But the alarm remains. How long will it be decided in offices how big a dose of the truth will be told, and whether it will be told at all?

Irkutsk Oblast Law, Order Program Cited
PM1105143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by V. Bobyrev, deputy chief of the Irkutsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Administration and candidate of juridical sciences: "Siberian 'Law and Order' Program"]

[Text] Irkutsk— The development of the comprehensive regional "Law and Order" program has been completed in Irkutsk Oblast with the aid of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Academy's scientific research laboratory.

The complex operational situation in the oblast has become customary for the Irkutsk militia. Of what does it consist? Every year about 17,000 former criminals or alcoholics leave the gates of the three dozen corrective labor colonies situated in the Angara region. Only 3,000 of them leave for the country's cities and villages, the remainder seek a better lot in our region. So the result has been that every fifth inhabitant, according to the statistics, and in some regions even every other inhabitant now, has a previous conviction. This assertion will probably shock even Siberians. But for the militia one more thing lies behind it: Half of the crimes are recidivist crimes.

The situation has been further complicated by the fact that in the past 18-24 months nearly 17,000 more people have been released from prison under the amnesty. If only that humane act had also envisaged providing them with employment! Many have been obliged to roam from one cadres department to another, hearing one and the same thing in the bureaucrats' offices: "Our enterprise is a modern, socialist one." It is as though such leaders want to build communism at their own enterprises rather earlier than the others. The result is that many of those who have found their freedom are doomed—they find no support or aid from the local organs of power. And the militia notes an increase in recidivist crime....

Yes, often it merely notes it: The wretched material and technical equipping of the leading services, the militia workers' lack of legal protection, the confusion in counting and registering crimes, and the imperfection of legislation strongly reduce the results of our work. To

lead the militia out of this extremely disadvantageous situation we have begun, in conjunction with specialists of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry academy, to elaborate the "Law and Order" comprehensive targeted regional problem for the consolidation of legality.

Its main task is primarily to overcome the lack of coordination in law enforcement activity and to pool the efforts of the militia, prosecutor's office, legal organs, labor collectives, and public organizations. That is, to create a united front for combating crime. The lack of coordination of the actions of all public forces is leading to grave errors. An example is the misunderstood idea of the democratization of penal practice when a prosecutor unjustifiably refuses to sanction the arrest of a criminal, when an overcautious investigator leaves dangerous criminals at large, when a judge passes a deliberately lenient sentence, when, to the accompaniment of loud talk about the importance and role of preventive work, the work of the coordination councils under the CPSU rayon committees is curtailed and the active struggle against drunkenness has been replaced with bans.

In the comprehensive program, every measure is backed up by material and technical, financial, and cadres resources. Sources of financing have been determined for this. It is primarily the economic organs interested in strengthening a particular sector of law enforcement activity which are being recruited to the matter. For instance, many large enterprises have agreed to finance additional technical equipment for guarding establishments and to maintain at their own expense sector inspectors or employees of another service. Enterprising leaders realize that these expenses will pay for themselves a hundred times over.

The program's intersectorial nature provides for the participation of all echelons of management: rayon, city, oblast, party and soviet, and economic organs. Special intersectorial problem sections have already been created and are starting to operate. They have been joined by workers from the executive committee, internal affairs administration, prosecutor's office, court, justice department, arbitration, advocacy, and customs control. There are eight of these sections: for social preventive work, for the detection and investigation of crimes, for the safeguarding of socialist property, for the safeguarding of public order and public safety, and so forth.

Public opinion is also being widely enlisted to analytic work. For instance, a special questionnaires has been distributed among the oblast's inhabitants and over 100 very interesting proposals have been received from the population for formulating and implementing the "Law and Order" program. Interviewing in the labor collectives has also given a great deal—a spectrum of very interesting opinions on improving the activity of the law enforcement organs has been received. It may be said that to a certain extent this program is the creation of the inhabitants of the Angara region themselves, who must also take part in its fulfillment.

Gorkiy Workers' Militia Squads To Combat Crime

PM1505140189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Pinigin report: "We Will Maintain Order Ourselves. Worker Detachments Have Taken to Gorkiy City Streets Together With the Militia"]

[Text] Gorkiy—The telephone rang early one morning in the correspondents' center. A man's voice trembled with indignation:

"What's happening in our city? My wife was coming out of the subway at 8 o'clock yesterday evening. Some guys surrounded her, threatened her with a knife, snatched her bag, and ran off. All this happened in a crowded place. Where was the militia? When will there be order?..."

The caller's indignation is understandable. Such questions are being asked in Gorkiy not only by those who themselves have been attacked, had their apartment broken into, or had wheels taken from their Zhiguli. For several months now city folk have preferred not to go out late in the evening and not to let their children go far. Even central streets seem to die when dusk falls. The operational situation is vividly characterized by just two instances which our newspaper has described this year—the villainous shooting of a militia patrol, and the refusal to work by several hundred taxi drivers driven to extreme measures by racketeers and armed advocates of hitching rides on state vehicles.

Gorkiy—however regrettable its leading position—is among the leaders in the republic in terms of the crime level. Crime has increased almost 40 percent in a year. The number of serious crimes has increased 75 percent, and robberies have increased 150 percent. True, V. Potapov, chief of the oblast soviet executive committee [ispolkom] Internal Affairs Administration, assured journalists at a news conference that the most objective indicator—the number of crimes per 10,000 inhabitants—is lower than for the Russian Federation, and lower than the average over the past 5 years. This, however, was consolation to few people.

What has brought about the flareup of violence and encroachments on the life and property of Gorkiy residents? Leaders of law-enforcement organs give various reasons. There is the increase in the number of people released under amnesties, which gives rise to recidivist crime. And our general retreats from the front line of the struggle against drunkenness. Finally, there is the fact that some teenagers and young people perceive democratization as a relaxation of laws and total license. Each of these reasons requires serious analysis and corresponding action. But it has become increasingly obvious that internal affairs organ workers alone can hardly cope with the situation. The situation compels nonstandard solutions.

First the oblast party committee bureau and then the city party committee bureau examined the question of urgent measures to strengthen law and order in the city. Gorkiy's party and soviet leadership appealed through the newspaper to the population to give the militia active assistance in the struggle against drunkenness and offenses in residential districts and labor collectives. It was planned, inter alia, to organize under rayon party committees extraordinary commissions headed by first secretaries and to create worker militia detachments as quickly as possible.

These words—"extraordinary commissions" and "worker militia," which are more familiar from books—smacked strongly of the first postrevolutionary years. But, of course, the similarity was only superficial. Labor collective forces were involved in maintaining public order as early as last year. For a short time, it is true. This year the ispolkom adopted a decision to send 360 people from industrial enterprises to help rayon militia departments for 3 months. This first flow—let us put it like this—began to be called, not quite accurately, worker militia detachments.

How do they differ, say, from volunteer people's militia detachments? There is a difference. And a substantial one. Members of volunteer people's militia detachments, as is known, help the militia outside worktime. And it must be owned that many people would go on duty because of the 3 days' extra leave. There was an appreciable thinning of people's militia detachments when that benefit was abolished. In Gorkiy Oblast, even according to reports, the number of volunteer militiamen fell by 40,000, although the Internal Affairs Administration believes that it fell by considerably more. In addition, these social formations most frequently operate without close contact with the militia and, as the participants in a recent oblast meeting of people's volunteer militia detachments themselves admitted, the effectiveness of their work is very low.

Unlike the volunteer militiamen, the members of worker detachments are entirely released from production. They retain the average wage at their place of service, but they go to "work" in the rayon internal affairs department [ROVD]. Together with militiamen they patrol in details and participate in raids and operations. Thanks to them, the density of details in certain rayons—that is, the number of patrol routes—has almost doubled. There has been an increase in the number of so-called confidential posts located in places where people gather. And, naturally, the effect of such assistance is more tangible.

"During the 3 months that the worker detachments have been operating," V. Sukhomut, chief of the Oblast Internal Affairs Administration Public Order Maintenance Administration, said, "they have stopped approximately 9,000 violations of antialcohol legislation and more than 3,000 minor acts of hooliganism and have been involved in clearing up crimes."

This first experiment, though perhaps not totally successful, showed that it is possible and necessary to rely on labor collectives to instill order in the city. And then the idea was born of making these detachments not temporary—for a month or two—but permanent. Party committees and soviet ispolkoms supported this idea. Since the Soviet Union has rather little experience of this, they turned to foreign sources. In particular, they studied the practice of organizing a municipal militia. They studied questions with economists and financial organs. The result was the emergence of a statute on so-called worker auxiliary militia detachments [ROSM].

What are ROSM's? They are created at enterprises by decision of the labor collective, and are approved by the local soviet ispolkom. Volunteers enroll in the detachments. They are released from work for 1 year or, if necessary, longer. The ROVD concludes a contract with the enterprise. The enterprise transfers money to the ROVD to pay its emissaries. This includes the average monthly wage, the material incentive fund, the cost of transport, communications, uniform, and so forth. The detachments are attached to internal affairs organs, which use them in the struggle against crime and in the prevention of offenses.

How did the enterprises regard this idea? For they have to "give up" not only people but also money which, under conditions of economic accountability, they have learned to count.

"We spoke to all subdepartments at Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plant," A. Kuzmin, chief of the Avtozavodskiy Rayon Militia Department, said. "The working class gave us their full support. The leadership, too. We concluded a 1-year contract. The plant allocated 105 people to us and transferred R405,000. This will make it possible to strengthen the patrol and post service, create mobile groups, and establish a presence in places of people's mass leisure."

Many industrial enterprises took the same attitude to the ROSM idea as the motor vehicle plant. Hardly any refused. Today detachments are being formed in all Gorkiy's rayons and in a number of cities in the oblast.

A different option was chosen in Nizhegorodskiy Rayon, for example. There enterprises and organizations transfer funds to the militia's account, while the department itself recruits people for detachments. There are enough takers. The formation of ROSM's with a total strength of 500 people is to be completed by 15 May. The enterprises' emissaries will first be trained on short courses and will then begin maintaining public order. It has been decided to make special uniforms for ROSM fighters.

Today people are traveling to Gorkiy from all over the country to familiarize themselves with the worker detachments' experience, even though it is little. For the operational situation has deteriorated in many regions. And it was no coincidence that alarm at this was voiced

at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum. It is too early to judge whether the ROSM's will spread and prove themselves. In Gorkiy, at least, great hopes are pinned on them. Although crime is continuing to grow, its growth rate was reduced in the 1st quarter. Presumably the worker detachments played a positive role in this.

However, while at the same time implementing the ROSM idea, internal affairs organ workers pose the question in broader terms. Why not, they say, follow the example of certain countries and create a municipal militia, if only by way of an experiment? That is, create subdivisions directly subordinate to local soviets and funded by them. Today rayon militia departments are limited both financially and in terms of human resources. In Avtozavodskiy Rayon, for example, where more than 300,000 people live (as in some oblast centers), just 40 employees of the patrol and post service go on duty at one time. Naturally, they "melt" into the streets, and you get the feeling that there is no militia. At the same time the ROVD chief does not have the right either to increase complements, acquire another vehicle, or change the employees' salaries. But if the militia were subordinate to local soviets, they themselves would govern its strength and allocate transport, technical facilities, and so forth, depending on the operational situation. Clearly, this will take a lot of money. It could be obtained by means of additional deductions from the profits of enterprises and organizations located on the soviets' territory. It would probably be worth examining this question, too, when the Law on Local Self-Management is drawn up.

The ROSM's created in Gorkiy are, perhaps, the first step on the way to organizing new law-enforcement structures. At any rate, something must be done. Why not, in that case, make a most attentive study of experience which has proved itself in life?

Worker Doubts Present Applicability of Lenin Dogma

PM1805132689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from worker I. Trubchaninov under the rubric "Letters '...Not for Publication'": "Let Theory Catch Up With Life"]

[Text] Newspapers abound in speeches by doctors of history, discussing Marxism-Leninism. But these are often expounded in such isolation from the real world that (informal) groups and societies are set up to study the Marxist-Leninist heritage. For example, in Magnitogorsk we have a new group like this.

Now is the time for a critical interpretation of the theory and practice of building socialism. There are new things coming into practice, but social scientists do not allow themselves to argue on any point with V.I. Lenin. But could he foresee everything decades in advance? Do we automatically have to link all the changes taking place in our politics and economy with quotations from his works? After all, Lenin was always the first to take a stand against dogmatism. The important thing is the main idea of his teaching, and not the permanent transfer of fixed ideas into our reality.

I know of an artel, "Kvartz," which has several plants (gravel and asphalt) in Chelyabinsk and Kurgan oblasts. Well, these plants, which are now leased, have a much greater output (with staff reduced by a half) than when they were state-controlled! And oh, no! There is no socialist competition, nor beautifully written pledges. People simply work there and know what they are working for. There are no administrative criticisms there, nor trade union appeals—yet discipline is at a high standard. In essence this is a lesson in different economic relations. Let us also take into consideration the new things that are carving out a path for themselves.

[Signed] I. Trubchaninov, worker.
Magnitogorsk.

Secret Small-Scale Soviet Maps Declassified

PM1705114389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 May 89 Second Edition p 8

[Article by V. Yashchenko, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography, and B. Vyzov, chief of the General Staff Military Topographical Directorate: "From the Information Department Mailbag. Follow-Up"]

[Text] The article "Billions Stamped," published in PRAVDA 26 February, has been examined at the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography and the General Staff Military Topographical Directorate.

The newspaper article by and large correctly put forward the question of amplifying current statutes on the secrecy of topographical maps and meeting more fully the needs of the country's economy and population for open maps. At present the requisite work of declassifying certain cartographic materials and space photographs is being carried out in this area.

Thus, in view of modern technical means of creating topographical maps using space photographs, topographical maps on a scale of 1:200,000, 1:500,000, and 1:1,000,000 have been declassified. Work has begun using maps on this scale to create maps for open sale. Moreover, tourist maps and plans using larger scale topographical maps are being prepared for tourist areas, zones providing mass recreation for working people, and cities. Sale of such maps and plans to the population will begin this year.

Organizations and enterprises have always been issued and are being issued with topographical maps on any scale and with coordinates of geodetic points from USSR Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography and General Staff Military Topographical Directorate stocks.

As for duplicating work, it must be noted that alongside USSR Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography subunits, which perform the main topographical and geodetic work in the USSR, more than 2,000 prospecting organizations under 32 ministries and departments produce comparable works. Their activity is monitored by USSR State Geodetic Supervision organs.

Academy of Economy Holds Environmental Seminar
LD1005181289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] A 2-week seminar of departmental heads on questions of environmental protection and rational use of natural resources has been held in the Academy of the National Economy of the USSR Council of Ministers. It examined a broad range of problems relating to the ecological situation in the country and abroad, questions on the management of environmental protective activities, the economic mechanism, the uses of natural resources, and a number of other topics. Taking part in the seminar was Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature; leaders of USSR ministries and departments; and the country's leading scientists and specialists in ecology and the utilization of natural resources.

Documentary Elucidates Stalin's 1939-44 Actions
18001054 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 May 89 p 8

[Article by Oleg Bitov: "Without Looking Aside"]

[Text] On 21 June 1941, Beriya sent a memorandum to Stalin, in which, referring to the "wise determination" of the leader that there was not going to be a war in 1941, he demanded to "reduce to [labor] camp dust" intelligence personnel, diplomats, and anti-fascist combatants—all of those who factually maintained the opposite. It is very likely that Stalin would have "acted on" this memo had he had the time. What happened on the following day is common knowledge.

During these very days, a new radio transmitter for the "Red Band," a heroic group of intelligence officers operating in the recesses of the Third Reich (a detailed story of it was published in the previous issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA) arrived with the current diplomatic pouch at the address of the Soviet Embassy in Berlin. (Indeed, at that time the right hand did not know what the left one was doing to a greater than ever extent.) How could "the parcel" be delivered to the addressees? Now that the war had begun the embassy had been cordoned off and communications were cut off. How were they to also let the Motherland know about the desperate situation of more than 1,000 our people sent to Germany "to cement our friendship" with Fascism?

These and other little-known chapters of history were the subject of the documentary "Witness," shown on 12 May on Central TV Channel 1. The documentary was directed by Kseniya Shergova from the script by Vladimir Pozner. Recollections of a well-known diplomat and international journalist, in the past personal interpreter to Molotov and Stalin, now Doctor of Historical Sciences Valentin Mikhaylovich Berzhkov, provided the backbone of journalistic narration. Principled courage is the main advantage of the new production. The genre of television memoirs has not yet seen projects of a scope similar to "Witness."

Indeed, the historians still break a lance passionately over the stormy events dating back half a century, look for versions, and posit alternatives. After all, interpreters, secretaries, and adjutants definitely took part in all the talks, even the most confidential, and some of them are still alive. It would seem that you can ask them, let them clarify things. Since we are on this topic, Molotov himself lived until very old age, and died just recently.

However, Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Molotov was not willing in the least to "clarify things." Multiple attempts by journalists to elicit sincere comments by him on, say, the events of the time preceding the war, unavoidably came to naught. All others who were then privy to the secrets of foreign policy directly or indirectly followed the example of the former people's commissar, as if all of them had been bound by the "omerta," as in Sicily, an inviolable vow of silence.

Such a comparison is not a matter of chance. We do not have to guess at the fate which anybody was threatened with in these years, who was as much as suspected of disloyalty. However, Stalin's "omerta" turned out to be tenacious, it kept people under its spell for many more decades. However, glasnost has finally overcome this difficult barrier as well. V. M. Berezhkov relayed from the screen quietly and in detail what he witnessed in 1939 through 1944, his personal meetings with Molotov, Stalin, Hitler, Ribbentrop, Churchill, Roosevelt, the highest-level talks in which he took part as an interpreter.

Is the narrator credible? There cannot be any doubt as to that. To be sure, when you grasp his words, when you look attentively at the documentary file footage which illustrates them, then, as Vladimir Pozner aptly put it, at times you wish to look aside. However, we cannot do that, not if we want to sort out the past, and learn the lessons of it. A commonwealth of broadly knowledgeable people who trust each other should replace the "omerta" of Stalin. The documentary "Witness" is a prominent landmark on the road to this still remote ideal.

Writer Reports Discovering Tsar Nicholas's Remains
18120077 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 16, 23-30 Apr 89 p 16

[Interview with Gely Ryabov, scriptwriter and journalist, by Aleksandr Kabakov; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] "We Must Shoot You" is the title of an article in "Rodina" (Nos 4 and 5) about the years-long exploration that finally proved, irrefutably, that Nicholas II and the ten other people shot to death in the basement of the Ipatyevsky House in Yekaterinburg in 1918, were not thrown into a mine. Their real burial place was in fact discovered in 1979.

[Kabakov] You have substantial evidence proving where the Romanov family was buried. Can you reveal where this place is?

[Ryabov] I'm prepared to offer what I found to any panel of experts. And, yes, I will show this place. But only if I'm granted permission to give the executed a proper Christian burial. Up till now their burial place didn't exist.

[Kabakov] What sparked your interest in this tragedy? You are known for works about the Soviet militia—especially the popular TV series "Born of the Revolution". Over the last few years you've published articles about the bad things that went on during the period of stagnation, about the work of those who are supposed to protect society from crime. The militia was not pleased. But you served in the militia for many years yourself and you know it from the inside. Later on you became the "favorite writer about the militia". Why the switch to Nicholas II?

[Ryabov] This historical drama—the execution of the Tsar's family without a trial—is highly enigmatic. I've become convinced of this in the last 13 years. It all started in 1976, when I went to Sverdlovsk (formerly Yekaterinburg) on business in my capacity as "favorite militia writer". I still don't know what inspired me to ask the people meeting me at the station to take me to the Ipatyevsky House, or the "special assignment house" as it was called then. But, then, my request didn't cause surprise. All visitors, "VIPs" included, ask to be taken to this place. During my investigation, almost no one objected to what I was doing. I received help from the local Ministry of Internal Affairs and from archivists and was given access to special files thanks to Shcholokov himself.

What did I feel standing in that basement, in the 25-square-meter room where 11 guards shot 11 people, including a 14-year-old-boy and six women before dawn on July 17, 1918? It's hard to say. I felt that I, too, am responsible for all the cruelty, which cannot be erased in my country's history, for everything that came with the great cataclysms which shook Russia. I decided it was my duty to discover the truth about the execution and the burial of the Romanov's—and to tell people. History must not have blank spots or dark spots—shedding light on them is our repentance to our own history.

In short, I arrived in Sverdlovsk thinking like an ordinary militiaman born in the 1930s. I came away with a mission.

[Kabakov] What accounts for your silence of so many years as a writer?

[Ryabov] I was conducting an investigation, the scope of the which was equal to the scope of the secret. I went to Sverdlovsk again in 1977. I've read all the works about the shooting party in Yekaterinburg, those published in our country (practically none) and those published abroad. In Leningrad I met the son and daughter of Yakov Yurovsky, who supervised the shooting and took part in it. Alexander Yurovsky, a rear admiral, helped me a great deal in the search for everything connected with this most terrible page in his father's life. I read the report by Sokolov, who investigated the shooting of the Tsar's family a year after Kolchak's troops marched into Yekaterinburg. In the six months at his disposal, before the city was taken by the Red Army, he did a tremendous amount of work. He questioned hundreds of people—practically all the witnesses and those involved. Together with my friends, my volunteer assistants, I began to look for the burial place near Sverdlovsk. Besides the six of us no one knew anything about this. We found signs of Sokolov's excavations. He dug up everything and let the water out of all the ponds and lakes nearby. He was a real pro of the pre-revolutionary school, a thorough and, in his own way, honest man. He thought he'd been successful when near the Open Mine—where, it was rumored, the bodies were dropped and immersed in sulphuric acid—he found jewelry, buttons, a human finger, and the body of the favorite dog of one of the princesses. He concluded that the bodies had been cut up with an axe and then dissolved with acid.

For many years this was the consensus. But it didn't correspond to what Yurovsky himself told Mikhail Pokrovsky, a historian of Stalin's times, in a special note. The Fiat truck with the bodies, and the guards led by Yurovsky, left Yekaterinburg for the Open Mine. There the bodies were unloaded....

[Kabakov] But if this is all true, what new facts did your investigation uncover?

[Ryabov] Sokolov made a typical investigator's mistake: He was taken in by the existing version according to which the bodies were thrown into the open mine. He simply looked for confirmation. Whereas I, having worked with the militia, used the expertise accumulated over the last few decades. I knew I had to go over absolutely everything. My attention was drawn by the fact, mentioned both in Sokolov's papers and

Yurovsky's note, that the truck had gotten stuck in a bog on the road from Yekaterinburg to the Open Mine. Small wonder, the Fiat's 24 HP engine was hauling nearly a ton.

I decided to find the real burial place.

[Kabakov] What proof do you have that you've found the real burial place? Why were you silent for so long about this?

[Ryabov] Ten years ago when we opened up the grave, the hole in the ground into which the bare bodies had been thrown so as to make the truck lighter, I couldn't make public my discovery. The time was wrong. No one would agree to identify the skulls and bones. No one would sanction this job officially, and it was impossible to get it done through friends. But it was easy for me to identify the number of bodies, the nature of the wounds, treated teeth (details described in foreign research works) and the pieces of the ceramic jugs, broken up over the bodies, which contained the acid. But the acid oozed away into the ground so that most of the bones remained intact.

[Kabakov] So what is it that Sokolov found by the open mine?

[Ryabov] We can only guess. I think that when Yurovsky and his men reached it, they decided it would be impossible to hide the bodies there and so exploded the mine walls. The bodies had been disrobed: That's why the buttons and jewelry were left there, the body of the dog was thrown in and a finger, perhaps a sign of marauding. The bodies were then loaded back onto the truck and it started back to the city. Another, more suitable place, had to be found. But the boggy road ambushed them.

The bodies were thrown into the hole, their faces smashed in with gun-butts so as to prevent identification, then doused in sulphuric acid, supplied by the special order of Petr Voikov, People's Commissar for Food in the Urals Soviet. There is a version that Voikov wanted to take part in the execution, but this has never been proved.

[Kabakov] Why did they want to prevent the burial place from ever being found?

[Ryabov] First, to prevent the grave from becoming the object of pilgrimages. The Sverdlovsk authorities gave the same explanation in 1977 when the Ipatyevsky House was blown up—even though it had a plaque on it saying that it was an architectural landmark and protected by the state. The city authorities decided to sacrifice it so as "not to provoke monarchistic activities".

The second reason for obliterating the grave was that the dubious nature of this execution was clear. At a session of the Central Executive Committee, Lenin warned that the killing of children would be a dark spot on the Russian Revolution and would compromise it vis-a-vis world public opinion. Still, the Committee voted for the execution. At the same time, the "proof" of the Romanovs' escape plans were widely publicized. The evidence included "correspondence" between Nicholas II and an unidentified White officer (which the guards somehow obtained). According to the Urals Soviet, the Romanovs meant to blow up the Ipatyevsky House: Bombs were discovered there.

[Kabakov] Is the job you set out to do done?

[Ryabov] No, it will be with me, I suppose, forever. It involves too many human tragedies. I've submitted a script for a feature film about the events in Yekaterinburg in 1918 to a film studio. I hope it will be made. This happened, and people should know about it.

Kalinin Bridge Collapse Blocks Moscow-Leningrad Road

18290176 Moscow STROITELNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[Article by A. Mironov: "The Pontoon Bridge Is on its Way"]

[Text] **At one of the four bridges in Kalinin, while repairs were being made, a bridge span crashed into the Volga. Movement on the Moscow-Leningrad highway was suddenly interrupted. Passenger conveyance between the the city's Proletarskiy and Zavolzhskiy Rayons was partially destroyed. Unfortunately, there were victims. One of the workers hospitalized died.**

The press, radio and television have already described the dense traffic jams on the streets of Kalinin, the crowds of people waiting to cross on both sides of the Volga. A commission of competent specialists is studying the causes for the bridge span's collapse into the Volga. It can be assumed that their conclusions will be made public, and parties guilty in the event will be punished severely. Now the newspaper's readers are interested in how expeditiously the consequences of the accident will be removed, whether the lives of the city's residents have settled down to normal, and where that many-thousand stream of through traffic is being directed.

Here is the statement of Nikolay Iosifovich Kurochkin, deputy chairman of the executive committee [ispolkom] of the Kalinin Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, head of the commission to restore the destroyed Volga bridge.

"On the whole, the situation has been brought back to normal. Not far from the bridge passenger ships work to transport people from one bank to the other.

"On the side coming from Moscow and Leningrad, State Automobile Inspection [GAI] stations have been posted in order to direct the flow of through traffic around our oblast center. A developed plan has taken effect by which thousands of vehicles 'diverge' onto various highways

during their approach to Kalinin, in order to avoid the bridge out of service. Moscow and Leningrad auto transportation enterprises have been informed of this.

"I want to emphasize that these are only the first necessary measures. The main thing is to restore the bridge quickly. This requires that the 63-meter 400-ton span be dismantled and extricated from the Volga. The complication is that it consists not only of metal construction, but of a reinforced concrete roadbed. Specialists from the Moscow Administration of Underwater Equipment and Construction Work, bridge and road builders and river workers have arrived on the scene to do the work. At our commission meeting, tactics for action were planned, and all issues of the oblast ispolkom rendering assistance for the successful elimination of the accident were resolved.

"No less important for us is the rapid delivery of the complex of a pontoon bridge, and its assembly. It will be set up a bit upstream on the Volga from the present bridge. It will be about 200 meters long. Escorted by associates from GAI, convoys of 'Kamaz' trucks have already set out from Kalinin for Pskov, Smolensk and Kaluga Oblasts. Portions of the construction are already arriving from Novgorod Oblast. The pontoon bridge will carry 4,000 vehicles per day, and we plan to have it in operation in one week. The local road organization is already preparing the construction platforms and the bridge approaches."

Earthquakes Reported in Baykal Region; No Damage
PM1605155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Yermolayev report: "Epicenter Near Kyakhta"]

[Text] Irkutsk, 13 May—At 1235 local time today the residents of the city on the Angara felt quite a strong underground shock. Rather, several shocks following one another, over 5-7 seconds. Chandeliers swayed and furniture shook.

Evidently ancient Baykal, whose basin has not yet taken final shape and is continuing to widen, stirred once again. I asked S. Golenetskiy, chief of the regional seismicity laboratory of the Earth's Crust Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, about this over the telephone.

"This time Baykal had nothing to do with it," Sergey Innokentyevich believes. "The earthquake epicenter was located outside the Baykal rift, approximately 50 km west of the city of Kyakhta, near the USSR border with Mongolia. There are still no detailed reports, but the earthquake might have reached force 7 at the epicenter. A force 4 shock was recorded in Irkutsk.

"A second, weaker shock followed at 1310. The elements' blows were also felt by the residents of Ulan-Ude and other cities and population centers in the Baykal region. There had not been an earthquake similar to today's here since 1957. There are no reports of casualties or destruction."

Dnestr River Floods in Lvov; Crops Damaged
PM1605123989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 May 89 Morning Edition p 8

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondent V. Vukovich: "Floods in the Ukraine"]

[Text] Lvov—The cyclone came from the direction of Scandinavia. Warm air masses collided with cold over the Carpathians, which led to heavy precipitation.

Heavy rain in the mountains was followed by sleet. In a number of areas the amount of precipitation exceeded the May norm by factors of 1.3-2.4. Small rivers burst their banks. The water level rose rapidly in the main artery of the basin—the Dnestr—by 3.5-4.5 meters.

"Our emergency commission," V. Gorbanyuk, chairman of the Lvov Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee, said, "took a series of precautionary measures before the start of the flood in conjunction with the local authorities in Zhidachovskiy, Nikolayevskiy, Stryyskiy, and other rayons. People were evacuated from several population centers to safe places. Livestock was removed from farms and pastureland. Food supplies were taken to villages. Specialists were on the alert to restore electricity and communication lines."

But the elements increased their onslaught. Some settlements were turned into islands. The inhabitants have been brought aid by servicemen, who are getting through to places cut off by the floods by helicopter and amphibious vehicles. There have been casualties.

The powerful flood waters have carried away several bridges. Bank reinforcements have collapsed under the pressure of the water. Several tens of thousands of hectares of grain, sugar beet, flax, and vegetables are either totally or partially submerged.

Some worrying news has been received by the headquarters of the Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast emergency commission. Here too the elements have shown their temper. Taking up the overflow from mountain tributaries in Lvov Oblast, the Dnestr is spilling out over its floodplain. Electricity and telephone lines are down. Agricultural land has suffered from the flooding.

Kandinskiy Abstract Art Exhibit Opens in Moscow

18000986 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 6 May 89 p 10

[Report by Ye. Vasilyev]

[Text] The first exhibition of the work of the founder of abstract art, the Russian artist Vasiliy Vasilyevich Kandinskiy (1866-1944), opened in Moscow in the halls of the All-Union Museum Association State Tretyakovskiy Gallery on the Crimean Wall. About 200 painting, graphics, and applied art works are on display.

Until quite recently the name Kandinskiy was known only to real specialists, and if it appeared in the popular press it was only to accuse the artist of formalism, abstractionism, and other "isms." His pictures and graphic sheets were hidden away in repositories and were almost never shown. No serious attention was given to his personality or creative work. And this "blank spot" in the history of domestic art is beginning to be filled in, little by little, with real and living content. Vasiliy Kandinskiy is returning to his homeland and to our culture and this exhibit is clear evidence of that.

Kandinskiy's works are being displayed by the Tretyakov Gallery, the Russian Museum, the State Hermitage, the State Museum of Representational Art imeni A. S. Pushkin, and several republic and oblast museums where they ended up as early as the beginning of the twenties. Certain of the artists canvasses were found with great difficulty. Also on display are certain works found in private collections which were completely unknown up to now. For example, the painting on glass entitled "Scene With an Officer."

Nonetheless Soviet museums were allowed to display Kandinskiy's creative work only up until 1921 when he went abroad. There were none of his later works in our country. But visitors to the exhibit will become familiar with the work of the artist's period abroad. These works were sent to Moscow by the City Lenbauhaus Gallery (Munich), the S.R. Guggenheim Museum (United States), and the Georges Pompidou Center in Paris.

Kandinskiy's art is complex and contradictory, and from all appearances many will not understand it. It immediately evokes worship in some and hostile rejection in others. It also requires attentive and profound study. And it seems that this has already begun in our country.

The exhibition of the work of Vasiliy Kandinskiy will undoubtedly be a great event in the cultural life of our country.

Economic

Bank Chief Discusses Currency Dealing Plans

PM1705092789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Yu.S. Moskovskiy, chairman of the board of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, by O. Mikheyev: "Credit in Foreign Currency"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] How is the country's foreign currency system helping restructuring? Why do we take foreign currency credits? Does this not put us in "hock" to other states? Is every opportunity open to enterprises and regions to earn foreign currency? When will the ruble be made convertible? What are foreign currency auctions?

In conversation with our correspondent, Yu.M. Moskovskiy, chairman of the board of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank], answers those and other questions which occur most often in PRAVDA readers' letters.

[Mikheyev] Yuriy Sergeyevich, the economic reform gave your institution a new face by changing the old name of Vneshtorgbank [Foreign Trade Bank] for the new one, but has the essence of its work changed?

[Moskovskiy] It is the same bank and yet it is different. It is the old bank in the sense that all the country's foreign trade accounts are still settled through us, and we are keyed into a system of business links with almost 2,000 banks in 130 countries throughout the world. It is different in that the range of our activities is wider. Now we are actively engaged in business which formerly our bank hardly handled at all. For example, we provide foreign currency credits to enterprises and organizations, we take part in creating joint ventures and in establishing direct links between Soviet and foreign enterprises, and so on.

[Mikheyev] Tell us about that in a little more detail, please.

[Moskovskiy] Our means of influencing the economy is foreign currency credits. Credit granted to a good businessman who knows how to use it to improve the structure of his production and develop the export base is a considerable force. Last year alone we doubled the credit total to R1.3 billion. For example, the bank granted foreign currency credits to the "Zarya" association in Penza, the "Baltiya" timber processing combine in Riga, and the "Lenryba" association in Leningrad, among others.

The Vneshekonombank has been empowered to issue up to R5 million in credits directly to enterprises and organizations. Repayment is from the foreign currency that they earn. There are many requests for credits. I

would note, however, that behind these applications you can often discern that same old economic parasitism of business leaders who have become accustomed to budget "handouts." That is why our experts rigorously examine the enterprises' ability to repay the credit on time in foreign currency earnings.

[Mikheyev] It is clear that in the majority of cases bank credits are indispensable. But how do you take part in creating joint ventures?

[Moskovskiy] Our specialists together with their foreign partners last year alone prepared the documentation on more than 100 plans for joint ventures. This is complex and profound work: It involves a technical and economic feasibility study, the preparation of finance plans, an assessment of the foreign currency earning prospects, an evaluation of the risks taken by the participants, and so forth. By no means all the projects received the support of the bank, which rejected those which from the standpoint of national economic interests were inexpedient and those which involved a heightened risk for the Soviet partner.

[Mikheyev] Are your powers not too extensive? On the one hand you revive enterprises by allowing them to conduct export operations independently, but at the same time you control the source of that revival which you can cut off at any moment, do you not?

[Moskovskiy] Every country protects itself very vigorously against foreign currency problems. This may be called a general rule. Especially now that a great many "newcomers" are entering the foreign market, the majority of them inexperienced traders who still have only a poor knowledge of its characteristics. It is necessary to help them while protecting the state against economic failures. Last year alone our specialists taught the rudiments and skills of credit and account servicing to more than 1,500 enterprise personnel.

[Mikheyev] Some readers would like to know whether the decentralization of foreign economic activity will not reduce our country to debt slavery.

[Moskovskiy] I think that those fears are not without foundation. At the same time, each enterprise, before buying anything for foreign currency, must earn that money itself, in other words, it must earn from exporting. That provides insurance against the fears that you mentioned. But many enterprises need the initial foreign currency investments to create an export potential. This is when the Vneshekonombank helps them out. We make a careful study of our clients' solvency, we help them with consultations and special information. There is always a risk in offering credit, however. But we already have a good idea of the export opportunities of sectors and many enterprises.

Furthermore, the licensing of foreign currency credits is an effective mechanism for controlling the growth of the foreign debt. The Vneshekonombank has been empowered to issue licenses to other banks and organizations to raise foreign currency loans. Debt crises result most often precisely from the absence of such forms of state control.

[Mikheyev] Nowadays it is often suggested that credits be used to buy consumer goods abroad on a wide scale so as to at least partially satisfy consumer demand and improve the market. What is your opinion of such suggestions?

[Moskovskiy] I do not share that view. Such purchases of consumer goods abroad only temporarily ease the situation in the domestic market. But the credits have to be repaid quickly, that is, the currency must be earned somewhere. It is more sensible to buy the equipment to produce those goods.

I recall that at the end of last year the Vneshekonombank concluded a general credit agreement with a consortium of FRG banks for DM3 billion to buy equipment from West German firms to modernize the USSR's light and food industry. The government agreed to those purchases (the credits will be repaid by the state) so as to give a powerful boost to the supply of goods to the internal market and to improve the quality of food products.

In addition to firms from the FRG firms from Italy, Switzerland, Japan, Spain, Britain, and other countries participate on a competitive basis in supplying equipment. When choosing our partners we look for the most advantageous offers.

I would also note that the supplies of equipment are related to specific projects and linked to their modernization schedules and are hardly connected at all to new construction work. This is a new element in deals of this kind.

[Mikheyev] Yuriy Sergeyevich, are you confident that our economic managers will stop stockpiling imported equipment at depots, as has quite often happened in the past, and, furthermore, out in the open air? There is a depressing statistic which shows that we have already "laid in" imported equipment worth R5 billion, bought for credits in foreign currency and standing idle. Almost half of that for more than 1 year. As a result the manufacturers' guarantees have already expired on 25 percent of this "precious" equipment....

[Moskovskiy] Yes, it is a familiar situation. This painful problem is rooted in the fact that ministries used every means to "extract" foreign currency from the Council of Ministers and the State Planning Committee for the purchase of equipment without bearing the economic responsibility for ensuring its efficient use. The principle of foreign currency cost recovery is going into effect now,

and in time the bulk of imported goods will be paid for by the foreign currency income of the enterprises themselves, using their own earnings. So I think the situation will gradually be rectified.

Only a year has passed since enterprises, organizations, and the governments of union republics began receiving deductions in foreign currency. In 1988 as a whole around R3.7 billion was received in foreign currency funds, of which R1.2 billion was in hard currency. Enterprises are already beginning to sense that they control their own finances. True, there are bound to be anomalies. In some places people began by buying Mercedes cars. Labor collectives and their party organizations must know that they are squandering their hard-earned money.

[Mikheyev] Are all the opportunities available for Soviet enterprises to earn foreign currency, to take loans, and to pay for them by selling their output?

[Moskovskiy] The artificial barriers have been removed here: Everything is now in the hands of the enterprises themselves. Resources are paid into foreign currency accounts in proportion to the receipt of earnings at the Vneshekonombank and not on the basis of the year's results, as formerly happened. Incidentally, the number of these enterprise foreign currency accounts at the USSR Vneshekonombank is growing rapidly. At the beginning of the year there were just 3, now there are already more than 70 including those opened by the "Zarubezhneftegazstroy" and "Nizhnekamskneftekhim" associations, the "Kristall" plant in Moscow, and others. The bank pays interest on the accounts based on world market rates.

I would note here that the principle which has operated so far has been that of distributing foreign currency earnings among ministries, which passed on to enterprises the amount that they were due. Often this currency took too long reaching those who had actually earned it. Now, as of April 1, that process is to be reversed. The enterprises have full control over the foreign currency which they earn: They pay their contributions to the state, to the local budget, and to the organization above them and put the rest into their own foreign currency accounts. Banks carry out these transactions solely on the instructions of the enterprises which have secured the export earnings, and the ministries are not even involved.

[Mikheyev] So are there no problems? It is just a minor matter—it only remains to learn how to make good things which people need and sell them on the world market....

[Moskovskiy] Of course, not all the problems have been resolved yet. But it is important that each enterprise can actually set itself such a target now. That is the main thing. Sweeping away the host of long-outmoded prohibitions and injunctions to reach this goal has indeed taken a lot of hard work. Incidentally, the job is not completed yet. The legal basis of foreign economic activity must also be reinforced. A law on foreign trade and foreign currency dealings is now being formulated. There must be normative acts on a system for securing Soviet organizations' property, on their participation in financial and economic activity and in overseas investments. A law needs to be adopted on joint stock companies and societies in the USSR, the legal consequences of bankruptcy, and so forth.

Foreign partners need information on the Soviet enterprise with which they intend to cooperate. They need to know its financial and economic status, its credentials. Is its work stable? What resources does it have? Who is backing it? Is it the kind of partner they can work with? The enterprise will have to provide guarantees, and that means not simply a piece of paper: Those guarantees must be demonstrated. It was simpler before: All the purchases and guarantees were dealt with by our state. Foreign partners also have to get used to the fact that they are now working mainly with what are essentially Soviet "firms." All this requires precise and unambiguous legislation.

[Mikheyev] What ways do you see to attaining the convertibility of the ruble?

[Moskovskiy] This complex problem cannot be resolved at a stroke. After all, it is an indicator of the level of economic development. We have to supply the domestic market with goods and services, create a powerful export potential, support effective demand, switch primarily to wholesale trade in material and technical supply, carry out a price reform, and improve the state budget. But all that takes time. So ruble convertibility, in my view, can only be introduced in stages. And we can only move on to the next stage after real economic results have been achieved in the previous ones.

Among the first steps toward the convertible ruble we envisage using the national currencies of the CEMA members in settlements and also holding currency auctions in the USSR.

[Mikheyev] What is the purpose of auctions? Is it to enable foreign currency to find the right owner?

[Moskovskiy] Not just that. Auctions broaden the scope of currency circulation. They enable even those enterprises which work exclusively in the domestic market to gain access to it. Initially only Soviet enterprises and organizations will take part; subsequently joint ventures, and thereby foreign firms, will join in.

[Mikheyev] Is this a kind of foreign currency exchange?

[Moskovskiy] Rather a prototype currency market. In the future, when other credit and finance banks and institutions become involved in foreign currency operations, we shall be near to creating a single, national, foreign currency market.

[Mikheyev] When will the first auction be held?

[Moskovskiy] In the very near future, I think: We would like it to be in May. We are completing the elaboration of technical matters. The length of the auction will depend on how much currency is on offer. We are not going to stipulate any rigid instructions; we want to begin this work with a free hand so as to find a natural mechanism which will work successfully from then on. The public at large will learn about the course and result of the auction through the press.

Academician Interviewed on Economic Priorities

PM1705145389 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 20, May 1989 (Signed to Press 11 May 89) p 10

[Interview with Academician I. Lukinov by V. Shloma: "The Economy: Paths of Acceleration"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Shloma] How do you assess the state of the economy today?

[Lukinov] In my opinion the state of the economy so far remains unstable and complex. Although there is no doubt that positive changes have appeared. In the past 3 years of the current 5-Year Plan, according to the figures of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the average annual growth rate of the GNP was 4.3 percent as compared to 4 percent for the period 1981-1985. But the increase in the national income unfortunately remained at the level of the previous 5-Year Plan—3.6 percent. And that is even with an increase in the average annual rates for the growth of gross industrial output from 3.7 to 4.2 percent and from 1 to 2.9 percent for gross agricultural output. Gross output continued to increase on an extensive basis through increasing the materials-intensiveness and funds-intensiveness of output. The results of work for 1988 are considerably more promising. The national income growth rate rose to 4.4 percent, mostly through the improvement of qualitative indicators. Labor productivity increased 5.1 percent and the materials-intensiveness of the national income declined 1.5 percent. These are already very tangible positive changes, despite a certain decline in the growth of gross industrial and agricultural output.

The pace which has taken shape for the growth of the national product and income are of themselves relatively high compared to their rapidly rising absolute volumes. But the situation is complicated by the need for the structural restructuring of the economy and by inflation. They sometimes cancel out the final benefit.

The attainment of strategic and tactical goals and tasks is really coming up against the realities of the limited opportunities for the growth of monetary accumulation and consumption funds and their prompt conversion into material goods. Alongside the blatant shortage of many modern technical means, the problem of the balance between the money mass and the commodity mass on the consumer market has been seriously aggravated. Changes in the world market situation have in turn entailed a sharp loss of hard currency revenue and a reduction in the volumes and structure of imports. This, understandably, is not having the best effect on the saturation of the domestic market.

Complications of the economic situation are also generated by the inertia of state policy in the field of the stabilization of the currency and financial system. The issue of money is growing. Inflation and the budget deficit are intensifying. The existing prices system does not accord with the altered level and structure of social value. This system has essentially become divorced from its economic basis and has great distortions which violate the equivalence of exchange in connected spheres of the national economy. There are economically unjustified transfers of revenue from some sectors and groups of enterprises to others, which slows down the work of labor collectives based on economically accountable principles.

Unfortunately, the operation of extensive factors of economic growth is being reduced only very slowly. The problem of accelerating the pace of the economy's intensiveness and productiveness is in my view now a decisive one in the implementation of economic reform. Without scientific and technical progress and the introduction of intensive flow production methods of the low-waste or, ideally, the waste-free type, it is hard to count on successes in the economy and the effective use of resource potential. For that it is necessary to make the maximum use of fundamentally new economically accountable forms of managing the economy and to develop contract and lease relations.

[Shloma] What in your view are the economic problems which should be resolved above all?

[Lukinov] To really normalize the economic situation in the country it is essential primarily to strengthen the state's currency and financial system and to raise the purchasing power of the ruble. We must wage a resolute struggle against inflation and overcome the state budget deficit. This cannot be done without introducing an anti-expenditure mechanism throughout the range of sectors from the extraction of fuel and mineral and raw material resources to consumer goods. Of course, radical price and financial and credit reforms are needed.

I attach special importance to the price reform. Without it we will not obtain proper efficiency from the transfer of enterprises and associations to complete economic

accountability. Today a considerable number of loss-making and unprofitable production facilities which we cannot do without (the coal industry, the production of some agricultural products, and others) objectively requires the introduction of economically substantiated prices.

That is why I do not share the opinion of those economists who suggest that an "ostrich-like" stance be adopted in the field of price reform, justifying this stance by social complexities. It is important for us all to understand the obvious fact that it is above all the ordinary workers and particularly the low-paid groups of the population who suffer from lack of regulation in prices and finance and credit. The transfer of republics, oblasts, cities, and rayons to the principles of self-management and self-financing is also inconceivable without equivalent commodity-money exchange and the radical reform of the budget system. Of course, all this should be organically connected with social policy in order not only to exclude the possibility of a reduction in Soviet people's living standard but also to ensure that it improves.

We must abandon entrenched stereotypes and economic irresponsibility in structural and investment policy at the macroeconomic and microeconomic level and change our priorities. The approach toward the selection and siting of expensive projects of nationwide importance exerting global influence on the environmental habitat, power and chemical, water economy, extracting, and transport systems require a special degree of state responsibility. Irresponsibility has already led to major irreparable losses here.

Unbelievably long deadlines and poor quality in the facilities which are being installed and modernized are intolerable. The country incurs enormous economic harm. It is obviously expedient to steer a more resolute course toward the preferential development of highly effective science-intensive production facilities and the production of resource-saving manufacturing systems. They should be used primarily to equip sectors which ensure that market demand is met and that there is a rapid turnover of funds and yield.

The food economy, light industry and services sectors, the production of various domestic and computer equipment, housing construction, and the social infrastructure are nationwide priorities for the development of the consumer sphere at the present stage.

As well as reaching a qualitatively new level in our own economy, where it is economically advantageous we must embark more boldly on the creation of joint economic systems with foreign capital, basing them on sophisticated technologies and organizational structures.

The development of production and turnover is impossible without shaping a new type of worker. He must possess lofty professional, spiritual, and moral qualities and know how to manage matters with a high degree of efficiency and be able to do so. The retraining of people from the positions of the new thinking and the principles of economically accountable self management is the most urgent, priority condition for the successful restructuring of the economy.

[Shloma] What are the most urgent tasks today in the field of economic science?

[Lukinov] Above all there must be an in-depth rethinking of the fundamental theory of socialism and the definition of its role and place in the modern worldwide process. In this area extreme views are far from the truth: On the one hand total nihilism, the preaching of socialism's inability to resolve urgent economic problems, and on the other cheerful and lightweight promises to rapidly resolve acute socioeconomic problems of the population's life. Low prices and high wages and all kinds of benefits and numerous other promises without any serious foundation are put into play here. You can be lenient when it is nonprofessionals who are speaking and writing about this but it is out of the question when it is economic specialists.

We must comprehensively elaborate a theory of the formation and effective functioning of the mechanism of socialist economic management. I include here the theory of the formation and movement of losses, cost, and prices, the theory of monetary turnover and credit, tax structure and investment policy, and mutual relations between the internal socialist market and the world market.

The latest scientific discoveries and breakthroughs in the field of technological and organizational progress in the last quarter of the 20th century have led to profound changes in economic processes. The factors regulating them have also changed. The now classic economic theories which have prevailed for a long time have in many ways become obsolete. They no longer accord with the altered conditions of modern economic management or the many times more complex systems of economic relations and ties both within the country and in the entire world economic structure. All this prompts us to seek fundamentally new theoretical ideas, to elaborate scientific concepts for making a sensible choice from the numerous possible versions of the most effective strategy and tactics of economic development in the foreseeable future.

Latsis Discusses Reaction to Earlier Article

PM1605132989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Otto Latsis under the rubric "Returning to a Previous Article": "...And How Can We Become Richer"; the article referred to was published on pages 98-101 of the 26 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] I am sorting through letters received in response to the article "Why Do We Live Like Paupers?" (IZVESTIYA No 110, 1989). This one is obviously out:

It is unsuitable for a review, obviously a misunderstanding—the comrade simply did not pay enough attention when he read the article. I look at other letters, but I cannot get the "wrong" one out of my head, it bothers me somehow. Suddenly it strikes me: It is the most important letter of all. Let's read it:

"You write that the people have a great deal of unearned money. That is not true. Honest people do not have much money. It cannot be claimed that because I (for example) buy 20 bars of soap (if I can get it), I have a lot of money. It cannot be said that if a man wants to eat meat once a week he has a lot of money! It follows from your conclusions that some government official somewhere can calmly take steps to ensure that people get less than they have now. When you say that there is a lot of money about, you should also think about who has this money. Can it be said that there is restructuring in my native Dagestan? Of course not. Our big shots have their own idea of 'restructuring.'

"A few details about myself: I am 42 years old, a construction worker. From Makhachkala. Magomedemin Idrisov. I would like to thank you in advance for your reply via IZVESTIYA. It will be interesting to see what you write this time. I would like to see for myself whether Comrade Latsis knows about life!"

At first I was annoyed. Where did he get this from? There is not a word in my article about "unearned money." I wrote about money that is not backed by goods. That is something totally different. I did not assert that honest people have a lot of money, on the contrary, I said that personal incomes are by no means excessive. But then I reflected: Why did the letterwriter see in the article something that is not there, and see a whole concept imbued with a certain logic? Is it not because he has heard similar views a thousand times before, and now, as soon as the conversation turns to the commodity and money supply, this grating sermon immediately springs to mind? Why am I annoyed at worker Idrisov when many educated people in Moscow, including some ministers, interpret this matter in precisely this way. It is not me personally that the worker from Makhachkala distrusts. Taught by his life's experience, he suspects the whole of our economic policy of trying to resolve problems at his expense. Can I claim that no such aspirations exist?

I will not attempt to do so. On the contrary, I myself am beset by the same misgivings as the author of the letter. Quite recently, in the March issue of the journal EKO, A. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, published an article entitled "Price Formation and Wages." Its basic idea is the following: If you do not want inflation, excessive price hikes, and a shortage of goods, then you must learn to control wages in such a way that they do not rise too fast. There is much that is true in the article, and it is particularly useful that it seeks to demonstrate the interconnection between the price system, money circulation, and wages. But why has the most important component been left out of the system under examination? There is not a word about the structure of production, about the correlation between Group A and Group B. There is no denying that it is important for us to know how big the wage fund is. But it is much more important to keep an eye on how this money is being spent by the state. But for some reason there is not a word about this.

It is not just in journal articles that this approach is in evidence. Our economic departments are doing their utmost to restore coefficients and other normatives which curb enterprises' newly won rights in the sphere of labor remuneration. They are taking away from them the rights which have, without any doubt, contributed to the recent acceleration in labor productivity growth. No, I am not against monitoring the correlation between labor productivity and wages. I am against strange interpretations of this correlation. I refuse to believe that our planners and financial experts are not aware of the difference between the productivity of live labor and social labor. Why do they stubbornly try to reduce the problem to enterprise level (where live labor is measured) and refuse to see the "glaring" wastefulness of departments, which squander social labor?

Let us return to the example of the Kara-Bogaz mentioned in the previous article. It is not new, but as an object lesson it is irreplaceable. They built a dike across the bay "to save the level of the Caspian Sea"—a task whose irrationality is comparable to, say, trying to improve the configuration of the canals on Mars. Soon it became obvious that: 1) The Kara-Bogaz has virtually no impact on the water level in the Caspian, 2) If the level needs to be influenced at all, it would be better to do so in the reverse direction, and 3) The dike which led to the drying out of the bay disrupted the operation of "Kara-Bogazsulfat"—an enterprise which the country needs. And so the dike was dismantled and the bay filled with water again. The absurdity of the operation, which cost millions of rubles, became utterly obvious. I am not going to talk about the culprits, although I would very much like to find out how come, even when an obvious mistake has been made, there is no one to blame. I want to ask another question: If labor productivity during the construction of the unnecessary dike had risen by a percentage point or two, could society have drawn comfort from this? What is the actual significance of the correlation between the "productivity" of worthless labor and its remuneration?

Worthless expenditure is usually expenditure that takes place on an economically unaccountable basis—departmental expenditure funded from the state budget. Total disregard for this aspect of the matter and the simultaneous concentration of attention on curbing enterprises' initiative, frightens me. I cannot understand the logic of those people who in the debate on the Tyumen complex project stubbornly continue to describe its merits and

ignore, equally stubbornly, the question: Where are the funds for this project—comparable to the cost of some 15 Baykal-Amur railroads—to come from?

From the letter of V. Vilin, a construction engineer from Sochi:
"Suddenly, in February a resolution was issued about even tighter linkage between wages and labor productivity—allegedly to combat inflation. It sounds like a weighty argument, but only if you do not know what they mean by labor productivity here."

V. Dergunov, a mechanical engineer from Shakhty:
"We talk about social values, and at the same time we mount an energetic offensive against these values. How else is one to interpret the increase in capital investments instead of the declared freeze, or the increased allocations from the budget despite the acute shortage of funds!"

Harsh criticism of the activity of our economic organs, you think? Here are the views of E. Abasov from Baku:
"Dear comrades at the editorial office, please understand at last and print this for the whole of the Soviet Union to read: Gorbachev and Ryzhkov are beating their heads against a brick wall. They make speeches and all the ministers obediently nod approval. Then they go back to their offices and the precise words and ideas disappear under layers of verbal padding. There is a central idea but it is swathed in waffle.... They are determined to build the Tyumen complex, and when Comrade Bogomyakov [first secretary of Tyumen party oblast committee] pats his great grandson on the head, he will try to explain to him what a jackdaw is, and how it differs from a squirrel.... Unfortunately, I have come to the conclusion that I will not have an apartment by the year 2000, that for a long time to come I will get 1.5 kg of meat and 1 kg of butter per month on coupons which I draw from the housing maintenance committee, that the 'Detskoye' soap has disappeared forever, and that there is no sausage apart from cooperative sausage."

Through the year 2000.... A sad forecast. On the other hand, the U.S. economist Wassily Leontief claims, as we were able to read recently in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, that it is possible to appreciably improve our situation within 6 months. It seems to me that not all his recommendations are acceptable to us. Impeccable in economic terms, they probably do not fully take account of the sociopolitical aspect. However, I do believe that, given correct action, a noticeable change for the better is possible within 6 months. What is needed is more resolute conversion not just in the defense industry but in the entire structural policy, and above all in economic thinking at all levels.

Are we making rational use of our foreign trade potential, for instance? Let us take a look at another example. Recently the Vyborgskiy Rayon soviet in Leningrad Oblast stopped the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry from embarking on the construction of a plant for the production of formic acid on the territory of the rayon. Stopped it because of the plant's harmfulness and the explosion hazard. Naturally, it would have been one of the biggest such plants in the world. And, naturally, it would have exported its future output to countries which, for some reason, do not want to produce it themselves. There is a striking resemblance here to the Tyumen complex project. The Leningrad newspaper SMENA rightly notes that this was a triumph of democracy and evidence of the strengthened power of the soviets. A rayon soviet stops a union agency in its tracks. However, the triumph is marred by a bitter undertone. It is contained in one sentence without comment: The imported equipment has already been bought and delivered to the settlement. No one can tell with any degree of confidence whether there will be a plant, and when, and where. However, the foreign currency has been spent. Who earned this foreign currency? Who disposed of it, and by what right? Who will be ruined as a result of this miscalculation? And who will refund the losses? Futile questions. The system of decisionmaking in this sphere is such that questions of this kind are not raised, nor are there any answers to them.

There is a lot of argument about our imports at the moment. At the focus of the debate there are two questions: Should we take out large credits to overcome the goods famine, and should we buy consumer goods or the equipment for their production?

As to the question about taking out credits, the following should be said: We have already taken out quite a few. Our statistical reports for some reason veil this in secrecy, but our Western creditors know, after all, what they have lent us. The sum of our debt mentioned in foreign estimates does not yet exceed the empirically established safe limit, but it is coming close to it. Were we to take out credits running into tens of billions, as has been proposed, our debt would become uncontrollable, it would grow whether we wanted it or not, on account of interest. Why take this risk? In order to fund the continued construction of unnecessary canals and loss-making industrial giants? Would it not be simpler to just stop building them?

As for the choice between importing goods and importing the equipment for manufacturing them, I think the question itself is incorrect and therefore there is no correct answer to it. In no category of goods is it possible to make do entirely without imports, just as it is impossible to completely rely on imports. What is needed is the optimum correlation between imports and our own production. In our country this balance has obviously been disrupted: We buy more equipment than we are able to install, and we have reduced imports of goods to an absurd level. We have allowed a shortage of medicines, which account only for a fraction of our foreign currency expenditure. We have decided to save on the item that is most modest in size and most profitable for

the budget—consumer goods imports. We have reduced them by hundreds of millions of rubles over the past 3 years and as a result the budget has lost R8.2 billion in revenue.

Meanwhile we stubbornly cling to huge grain imports. This policy is based on two myths: that we buy in the main high-protein feed grain for the production of meat and that the best varieties, which we are incapable of producing ourselves, predominate in our grain imports. However, the journal KOMMUNIST (No 6, 1989) published a set of figures. Whereas in our feed production high-protein varieties account for 10 percent, they account for only 2 percent of the imports. Some 10 percent of the purchased grain is substandard, 40 percent is contaminated with the seeds of weeds which have no natural enemies on our territory, and part of the grain is infested by pests which destroy grain in storage. In the agreements on grain trade with the United States quality requirements are laid down only in the most general terms. The concern is not quality. The ministry "is after" bulk.

Analysis of the actual situation shows that it is possible and necessary to increase imports of consumer goods without new credits, by changing the structure of imports. By refraining from buying abroad what we do not need, so that we can buy more of what we do need. However, in order to achieve this, what is needed is glasnost and monitoring of the executive by the legislature also in the sphere of foreign trade. State monopoly of foreign trade must not be confused with departmental monopoly.

However, not even imports on the largest scale will save us, unless domestic goods production is geared to the market. So far it has been mainly cooperatives rather than government departments which have demonstrated this ability. We must ask ourselves: Are government departments capable of this?

In the world where the usual problem is a surplus of goods, special value is attached to the opening up of a new sphere of consumption rather then the development of a new model of a known article. Capital immediately flows into such a sphere. Yet our industry for some reason does not seem to catch on. For years we have been waiting for a boom in the domestic production of video equipment, personal computers, and compact disc players. But it has still not materialized. And as for microwave ovens, which have become commonplace in foreign kitchens, most Soviet people have not even heard of them. Meanwhile in other countries special dishes for these ovens and conveniently packaged goods are already being produced.

As labor-saving devices which enhance the quality of food and at the same time save electricity these ovens represent a revolution in the kitchen. "Over there" the production of microwave ovens runs into millions, here it is counted in thousands. The largest producer—ZIL [Likhachev Automobile Plant]—is planning to produce 10,000 this year. In principle, it could organize the production of hundreds of thousands of them, but for the components which are supplied by enterprises of the Ministry of the Electronics Industry. ZIL is looking for new suppliers in an effort to solve the problem. Can it expect serious assistance from ministries? One thing is obvious: A sector ministry is not the best means of resolving a task which exceeds the scope of a sector—after all it is not a matter of mastering the production of an automobile. And nobody is offering any assistance in the solution of the economic question: The oven which is so badly needed on the market is a loss-making venture for the ZIL. The answer of the economic authorities to this problem is always the same: The constantly growing total of the state order for the consumer goods production volume. Just produce bulk, that is all that is required. However, we have been through this before. You cannot saturate the market by means of coercion.

In conclusion, here is one more letter:

"Recently an article here in CHELYABINSKIY RABOCHIY claimed that by relaxing the curbs on the sale of alcohol, we eliminated one of the longest lines. However, shortly afterward, another equally long line formed for any kind of soap or washing powder. Recently toothbrushes and women's scarves have disappeared. Yes, yes! One-size stockings and tights and buttons are unobtainable. What next? And how are we to manage in general? Especially sick people and the disabled who simply cannot stand in line (I am one of them). All this democracy and glasnost will not help us clothe ourselves, wash ourselves, or get fed. What do we need it all for? Who needs this restructuring?
"Chelyabinsk. V.N. Noskova."

It would be easy to explain, of course, that V. Noskova is not right. That the roots of the current shortages, inflation, and disproportions go back to the time of stagnation. And that they are partly due to the survival of its traditions. It is not restructuring that is to blame, the problem is that we have not restructured ourselves sufficiently as yet. It would also be possible to explain that without democracy and glasnost there will be no goods either, because we will return to the times when all society's ailments were "cured" by the same method: Orders to ignore them. All this could be explained. However, one does not want to. In any case, it is very difficult to reply to a person who only wants an answer to one question: Where can I find soap? To ignore such issues and talk about the merits of the Tyumen complex in the next millenium would not just be immoral, it would be worse, it would be unrealistic.

This letter is the only one of its kind among the initial reactions to my article. It could be put aside as untypical. After all, the overwhelming majority of Soviet people highly value democracy and glasnost. However, I believe that such letters cannot be shrugged off. Enough of criticizing our mistakes with hindsight, years later. It

would be useful, right now, when there are few statements of this kind, to treat them with maximum attention. It is by no means a matter of making the aforementioned reader understand, or of conducting "educational work" among people who think as she does (they understand everything even without explanations). The task is to make those who decide on the expenditure that runs into billions understand that, first, the state coffers are not bottomless, and second, the way the money is used should be decided only by the whole of society via its legislature.

Sale of Estonian Consumer Goods Limited
18000953 Moscow TRUD in Russian
28 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by A. Sukhonos under the rubric: "Estonian Reportage". "Barricades in the Economy?"]

[Text] The company train "Estoniya" left the Tallinn Station right on schedule. My neighbor in the compartment, wearing the uniform of an employee of the USSR Light Industry Ministry [Minlegprom], turned out to be a worldly man:

"It's always like this—precision and order."

I've traveled around Tallinn a lot, and now would like to check my observations. I'm in luck—my traveling companion is a knowledgeable person.

"It's not my first time in this region," says he. "My longest business trip was not so long ago. I took part in putting out the fire in the shale mine. In addition to the Kohtla-Yarvites, there were mine rescue workers from Vorkuta, Kuzbas, Donbas, and the shale basin outside Moscow fighting the fire. The people were victorious: Now the white-hot drift has been partitioned off with concrete walls, and the fire flooded with water and smothered with inert gases.... And nevertheless I feel uneasy. How could such a thing happen? What was the cause of the fire? Because once more I'm on the move. I visited Kohtla-Jarve and Tallinn again, and I've consulted with specialists from the Estonslanets [Estonian Shale] Association."

"Losses? They are being tallied, of course," he continues. "But one thing is clear. In business, where the environment, production and man come together, we must be guided by intelligence, responsibility, vision, and caution...."

My neighbor offered a copy of the latest newspaper. "Read it when you have time. There is a curious article about republic cost-accounting—IME. Almost right on the mark. It is also about wisdom and caution in carrying out economic innovations...."

We lapsed into silence for awhile....

"But did you know," I asked, "there is another way to read that word. I've been told that in Estonian, 'IME' means—a wonder ..."

"That may be. The only thing is, because of that 'wonder,' for the first time, I'm coming back from a business trip without any presents for my wife and daughter."

It's not hard to understand that emotion. I, too, returned to Moscow on the eve of 8 March without any presents. Not because I was short of cash, and not because "shopping-baggers" had cleaned off all the shelves. I passed through the sales rooms of the Tallinn department store, and went through a series of stores on Viru St. There were more than enough goods, but those were to satisfy the wants of the "fastidious" shoppers of the capital. And the Tallinites were of a different opinion: A number of goods are in short supply.

How can one avoid this? Protecting the goods from shoppers from out-of-town was one way. For your own people—sure! All you have to do is show your passport or a personal identity card. But if the shopper is a "outsider," then he is politely reminded that, "By instruction of the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom], we may sell these goods only to citizens of Tallinn!"

In one of the stores, the author of these lines inquired, "What is meant by the words, 'these goods'?"

They displayed a long list: cotton underwear and dresses; kolgotki, stockings, hosiery, sports clothing, shoes, toothpaste, "zippers," wallpaper, household goods, TV's, refrigerators, washing powders, fur items, and all children's and imported goods....

"But what would happen if such obstacles were set up in Minsk or Leningrad too?" I ask the sales-clerk in the shoe department.

"I don't know. No doubt that is their right."

Ants Vasar, chief of the Tallinn Gorispolkom Trade Department spoke more definitively: "It's time to put an end to slogans like 'fairness to all,' when no one cares and no one is offended. Speculators take advantage of that, and literally clean out the shelves in the stores.... I see our main task as ensuring that the residents of the city are provided a normal life first."

The reservations of the sales clerk are understandable. But then it is hard to agree to the thesis about "fairness to all." A trade organizer must know that Tallinn receives significantly greater per capita supplies of goods than that of Tartu, Narva, Pyarnu, or Kohtla-Jarve.... To depict every out-of-town shopper as a Viking raider is, in my opinion, just unfriendly. One can't help recall the words of N. Shmelev the economist on the fact that such bans and barricades between oblasts and republics take

our relationships back to the 15th Century, to the time of the separate principalities. Dividing people up into "our's" and "outsiders" also takes on a certain political shading, and cheapens one's moral values.

But maybe this innovation has actually barred the speculators from the shelves with shortage goods?

On Viru Street, a young peasant woman who did not speak the local dialect urgently invited me to the gate: "Mister, do you need a shirt? Or how about an imported silk painting for your wife?" Those who like to make easy profits earn their living just as brazenly at the Moskovskiy store, or on Komsomol Square in the capital....

Here is how it is: for every clever instruction one can find a dozen even more clever methods of going around it.

On the day I was to depart the Estonian capital, an engineer acquaintance approached me with a request: "Take a couple of magnetic tape cassettes to my daughter, a student in Moscow. The post office has placed an embargo on such parcels."

Is this just one more conflict between everyday human relations and strict sanctions? I asked many people this question. The replies varied: both approving and evasive—saying that for two months the city has placed postal limitations, it would seem, mostly on shortage goods; while others spoke out against the recent decree of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, which bans the mailing of manufactured goods and products.

At the editorial office of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA they showed me the latest mail. I copied some excerpts from certain letters in my notebook: "The decision of our government would be fine," writes railroad worker A. Tsygankov from the village of Turba, "if it pertained only to persons sending containers or machines and goods out of the republic.... Our newspaper cited figures on the number of parcels leaving our place, but said nothing on how many such shipments are arriving in Estonia from other places. I think the figures would be almost identical...."

"I wanted to send my mother a birthday present of woolen kolgotki and a dozen candies. For some reason it is forbidden. Are we really the very poorest republic?" asks the author of another letter. "Of late a lot has been said about human rights. Why are these rights being encroached upon?" That was from a collective letter from the citizens of Tartu. And Tallinnite V. Ivanov inquires with bitter humor, "What do the leaders of the republic see as the next step for restructuring? When and before whom will we have to turn our pockets inside out?"

Is it worth our while to pay heed to such letters? On the one hand it is all quite simple: They are showing concern for the local citizens. It would seem that the end is noble. But, what about the other side? After all, no republic is locked up within its borders: People come and go on business trips, or to visit their friends and relatives. And if one of them, like my traveling companion, wanted to acquire a new toy for his daughter? Or if one of the Tallinnites needed to send Mama a handful of candies, say, for Orlovshchina.... And they are told, "No-you-may-not!" Here a noble goal is turning into something just the opposite. It turns out that a man comes to help the republic at a tough time, and they "send him packing," as they say. And so reasons are found for drawing lines, for mutual reproach, and lack of trust. But: Is that a goal of restructuring?

Incidentally, it is not only in Estonia that people are trying to save themselves through rationing. In many cities various "curiosities" have appeared: special orders [spetszakazy] and coupons—for sausage, sugar, soap, laundry detergent.... All these are links in the same chain—a poor economy and the presence of inflation. It is a common misfortune, both for the Baltic Littoral, and for Russia. But the attempt to protect the domestic market, by far from the best means, to create a sufficiency of goods—is a deception and an illusion. "In the final analysis, this step leads nowhere," says Academician M. Bronshteyn of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences. The scientist is disturbed by the fact that tensions in interethnic relations are hindering the restructuring of the regional economy.

The proposition that politics are a concentrated expression of the economy is well known to everyone. In turn, economic life is a mirror of economic, social, and ideological factors—and simply human disorder! The authors of the concept of IME indisputably have grounds for great concern over the fact that Estonia's economy is under the all-encompassing wardship (if not the diktat) of the center, and the fact that the influential union-level ministries do not always take local interests into consideration. Our common misfortune is the recurrence of chronic illnesses. Decisively overcoming negative trends and expanding the sovereign rights of union republics in deciding their economic and social programs—are the key tasks of nationwide restructuring. They are written into the resolution of the 19th all-union party conference and are reflected in the draft of the corresponding law of the USSR, which is now being actively debated.

We do not wish to discredit the concept of a self-supporting [khozraschetnaya] Estonia. There is a great deal in it that is rational but there are also things with which it is hard to agree, and things that are accepted with blind faith. I am reminded of the words of an Estonian taxi driver who took me to Pirita:

"The hot-heads from the People's Front are suggesting that we reject the ruble, and introduce our own kroner. We can kill two birds with one stone, they say: We can raise our national prestige, and make our own currency stronger than the ruble. All that, in my view, is playing

with trifles. So, if there are not enough food products—well, you have to get busy and organize their production better. Then the ruble will be as strong as it can be."

In our haste we should not forget the vital interests of the working people. There is, for example, the notion of transferring the Estonian sector of the Baltic Littoral Railroad to republic subordination. Meanwhile, calculations by specialists indicate that dismemberment of the transport artery would cause it to operate at a loss. In order for freight shipments and passenger movement to become profitable, freight rates and ticket prices would have to be nearly doubled.

While proclaiming the way to an "economic miracle," one must not after all forget that the Baltic Littoral is closely associated with the country's national economy. The book, "1000 Facts from the Life of Soviet Estonia," stresses that these associations are considered stable. In exchange for its production the republic receives anthracite coal, ferrous and nonferrous metals, petroleum, cotton, industrial equipment, transportation and agricultural machinery, and a lot more.

The other day I happened upon a curious article with calculations from Estonian SSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan]. Judge for yourselves: Presently, the above-named products are brought into Estonia at prices below cost. If equivalent exchange were introduced everywhere as the IME conception insists, other republics would be "forced" to reexamine their prices, and bring them up to the world level. For this, Estonia would lose more than a billion rubles—that is, one-fourth of its national income....

Declaring economic exclusiveness and orientation on the foreign market, some IME figures are clearly dissembling. They are forgetting the "pluses" and "minuses." They are ignoring the reality which has taken shape among the "soviet," "national" and "international." They think that Estonia is merely being "cast aside." And why would they not also remember what the republic received in hard times under extremely favorable conditions? From Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Central Asia, and the Transcaucasus.... And they should take a look at the proportion of the international to the national in its current economy. Can one really divide this up mechanically?...

We are tied to one another with thousands of threads. This must not be disparaged. To the extent that nationwide and national interests are in harmony, the economy will become stronger and better.

Scarce Soviet Consumer Goods Being Exported

18250160 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 19, 13-19 May 89 p 3

[Unattributed Article: "With a 50-Year Warranty"]

[Text] Where can you buy high-quality goods, including mass consumer items, made in the USSR? Not in Moscow or Leningrad, but in Italy. Recently, in addition to Soviet black caviar, items of national industry and the produce of hunting rifles, wrist watches have been enjoying popularity abroad. However, this is hardly the output of our contemporary "master watchmakers," but a batch of watches produced in the Soviet Union during the thirties and forties. The most popular models among purchasers are the watches decorated with red stars and the Kremlin tower. But in the Italians' opinion, their main feature is their reliability. Even such a long time after their manufacture, they continue to run like "clockwork."

One Milanese businessman, having decided to take advantage of the "Russian boom" which has suddenly flared up in Italy, purchased a large consignment of officers' wrist watches in the USSR. "I don't know how much they would now cost in the Soviet Union," he said, "but both Italians and foreign tourists are in my store, buying them eagerly. A Frenchman just paid me 1,000 francs (100 rubles) for one model. So you can't go belly-up with items made in the USSR!"

What can you say, great for the Italian businessmen! They cleverly play on consumer interests. They quickly and expedi:ently fulfill the demand for Soviet goods.

What about our trade network? It seems that it will not saturate sales counters with goods with Soviet symbols any time soon. When our market is saturated with similar products, it will be time to reduce prices. Fashions change. Let the moment slip away and you lose.

Railcar Shortage Halts Refinery Production

18220123 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 May 89 p 1

[Article by V. Vanin, senior operator of the S. M. Kirov Oil Refinery]

[Text] **In February at the S.M. Kirov Saratov Oil Refinery, there was an extraordinary occurrence—they completely halted production of gasoline and other fuels. Apparently there was no explosion, or accident, or earthquake, and nobody had even begun a strike.**

Nonetheless for many days life at the enterprise barely continued. As a result the state failed to receive almost a million rubles' worth of products each day. Therefore the collective is no longer pleading—it is demanding that the guilty parties finally be held accountable.

But who are these people? Let us name names: V. Chebotarev, chief of the Volga Railroad, and G. Fadeyev and V. Ginko, first deputy ministers of railways. It is to them that A. Litvinenko, plant director; V. Chunyukin, secretary of the party committee; and A. Lazarev, chairman of the labor collective council; have gone consistently for many months, persistently requesting help from the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Goskomnefteproduktov

[State Committee for Petroleum Products], and also from their own ministry. They sounded the alarm and warned: Because of the lack of the necessary quantity of tank cars the enterprise will not be able to fulfill plans for shipping products, and worse than that—it will halt production altogether.

But each time V. Chebotarev put the blame on the MPS [Ministry of Railways] leadership, saying that he was powerless to do anything. And G. Fadeyev and V. Ginko gave their usual assurances and promises and at best through a couple dozen tank cars into the abyss—and they thought that this had solved the problem. But after a certain amount of time it was just as critical as it ever was. Even at the peak of harvest time the Saratov workers—indispensable participants in the planning teleconferences—were unable to provide the necessary quantity of gasoline for the grain growers and truck drivers, and with the beginning of the heating season they failed to make deliveries of fuel oil for boilers.

Last year the MPS owed the plant a total of 14,000 tank cars. The latter, who decidedly had no possibility of shipping their products, had to reduce productivity appreciably. And this, naturally, led to a deterioration of their results. The sales plan taking deliveries and assortment into account was not fulfilled, of course.

There was a particular shortage of tank cars for dark petroleum products. And thus (there was simply nowhere to get rid of them) they began to intensively dump heavy fuel oil into the slag retainer. They have now accumulated 100,000 tonnes of it—almost R3 million worth. Even specialists who have been tempered by experience cannot imagine when they will be able to process it again and ship it. Moreover, because of the overflowing accumulation tanks, the process of obtaining the main product, gasoline, is being held up.

The year 1989 brought no change for the better, although the petroleum workers were counting on this very much. A multi-tonne highly effective ELOU-AVT [expansion unknown] installation was put into operation. But in the first quarter the plant failed to receive 2,180 tank cars, mainly for dark petroleum products. With this kind of organization, if one can call it that, of the shipment, stable operation of the installation is impossible and the quality of the product deteriorates. And in April there was a complete shutdown. Because of the lack of tank cars the installation had to be turned off six times, and the rest of the time it operated with reduced productivity. The refinery was unable to process tens of thousands of tonnes of petroleum. Does the national economy really not need any gasoline or fuel oil?

What is the reason for the poor work of the railroad workers? Judging from the Neftyanaya station, to which the plant is attached, the reason lies mainly in the depressingly low technical level and the shortage of capacities for washing and steam cleaning tank cars. The personnel at the station are frequently simply unable to keep up with the above-normative residuals of chemical substances—bitumen, tar, and other undesirable impurities. And there are more and more of them as the years go by. And therefore the steam cleaners do the same thing that their crafty neighbors on the north Caucasus and southeastern railroads do: They keep the cleanest ones for themselves, and the dirtiest ones they send back.

Moreover many tank cars are broken, have holes, and the overflow openings are damaged. But the repair base does not put them in order. And the Saratov railcar workers, in order not to become bogged down in disadvantageous work, resort to a tried and true method—everything that is disadvantageous is sent on further down the line. And here is what happens: On paper the tank cars are in operation, but in reality they are roaming empty over the boundless expanses of the country. So, one asks, whom are we ultimately deceiving?

Plant Declared 'Bankrupt' in Kostroma Oblast

PM1705162189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 May 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Alarm Signal: Bankruptcy"]

[Text] Kostroma—The Kostroma Oblast Administration of the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction has declared a local automatic lines plant bankrupt. The bankrupt plant, which is under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, must now inform all its associates and raw material suppliers of its financial crash. It must stop its unprofitable activity.

The enterprise was advancing toward its sorry end from the moment it started up. Even now when you go around the workshops, it is easy to realize that the plant was given clearly incomplete sets of equipment. The main thing is that it lacks a precisely and well-thought-out organization of production. The switch to complete economic accountability clearly disclosed the unsound nature of this attitude to the enterprise and only hastened its bankruptcy. After 6 months of working in the new way it became clear that the old debts were not being reduced. New ones were snowballing. They soon exceeded the R8 million mark.

Neither the enterprise nor the ministry heeded the bank's warnings. The plant leadership expected assistance from sector headquarters. The ministry discussed the matter in its own way, saying that people at local level should resolve their problems themselves, enough rights have been granted. The upshot was that there was no way out of the deadlock. The machine tool workers saw in the May Day festivities in a bad humor. The collective's unearned wages were given out without delay. But it was explained that the privilege was a temporary measure. Think for yourselves about how you are going to make a living in the future. In an attempt to find a sponsor, the plant leadership visited the Gorkiy Automobile Plant. During talks it proved possible to

obtain agreement to the bankrupt plant being taken "under the wing" of the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building. But the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry has not as yet agreed to this.

No one knows what the future holds for the automatic lines plant. The collective has still not decided its future. Tools are switched on every day in the workshops and raw materials and metal brought in. Production of unprofitable output is continuing.

Agricultural

Vlasov, Nikonov Address Kaluga 5-6 May Conference
18240156 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 7 May 89 p 2

[TASS report on Kaluga Oblast seminar-conference held on 5-6 May to discuss decisions of the March (1989) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text]**The reserves for augmenting the country's food resources and the tasks of party, soviet, and economic agencies for accelerating the social restructuring of rural areas, expanding the cooperation of industrial and agricultural enterprises, and developing family farms and collective gardening and orchard raising in light of the decisions of the March (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee were considered at a special seminar-conference held on 5-6 May in Kaluga Oblast.**

Participating in the seminar were secretaries of party obkoms [oblast committees], chairmen of councils of ministers of autonomous republics, chairmen of ispolkoms [executive committees] of oblast soviets of people's deputies, agro-industrial committees and trade union councils of oblasts and autonomous republics, secretaries of Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] obkoms, chairmen of oblast and republic consumers' unions of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

The seminar was opened by a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Ye.K. Ligachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee .

A report was given by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. He said, in particular: "The party's modern agrarian policy is a most important organic part of restructuring. The process of widespread democratization of the life of our society and increased political activity of the Soviet people is exerting the most favorable influence on its implementation.

The candid, businesslike discussion conducted at the April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was another piece of convincing evidence of the desire and resolve of the party, its Central Committee, and its Politburo to increase government efforts to embody the ideas of restructuring in real deeds for the good of the Soviet people.

The food problem is among the most crucial. The March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee earmarked principally new approaches to solving this problem in close interconnection with all aspects of rural life.

The main direction and the basis for increasing food resources is public production of the agrarian sector—the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]. At the same time today special, exclusive significance is being attached to such important sources and reserves for rapidly solving this crucial problem as private farms of citizens, agricultural enterprises, organizations, and institutions, and also garden-orchard cooperatives and societies.

The speaker analyzed in detail the state of affairs with respect to the development of private subsidiary farms in the Non-Chernozem Zone and disclosed various facets of the experience accumulated in this sphere. At the same time, he said, many Soviet and economic agencies of the Non-Chernozem Zone still are not taking the proper measures for an accelerated increase in food production and are not taking advantage of existing reserves for improving the supply of food products for the population. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes are not devoting enough attention to providing the town farms with feeds and repairing or constructing outbuildings. It is necessary to put an end to such an attitude, to resolutely change the attitude of the leaders, and to overcome the inertia which leads to underestimation of the role of private farms. The requirement for the development of family farmsteads should be essentially just as strict as that of public production. The family farmstead needs better breeds of cattle, the best seeds, and the best feeds—this is precisely the right approach to its development. The private farm is our common, state concern, emphasized the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The speaker went on to discuss crucial problems in the development of collective gardening and orchard raising. At the present time, he said, in the Non-Chernozem Zone there are 17,000 gardening cooperatives and societies which unite more than 4 million families. Garden and orchard plots are occupying a more and more appreciable place in the supply of fruits and berries, vegetables and potatoes for the population.

In the report a great deal of attention was devoted to matters of satisfying the needs of rural areas for means of small-scale mechanization. Understandably, the solution to the problem depends primarily on the corresponding scientific subdivisions and on the ministries of machine building and the defense complexes. And here large decisions have already been made and progress has begun. At the present time a significant contribution to

increasing the production of means of mechanization that are in short supply for work on private and small farms can and should be made by enterprises of the republic's agro-industrial complex.

Consumers' cooperation should play an immense role in accelerating the growth of the food supply and providing food for the population. The conditions for the life and labor of millions of people depend largely on its trade, procurement, and production activity. The report pointedly raised issues of increasing the activity of the consumers' cooperation system and further improving its organizational structure.

Another significant reserve for improving the food supply mainly of the labor collectives and also of the population of cities and worker settlements as a whole are agricultural enterprises, organizations, and institutions. About 14,000 agricultural shops of enterprises have been created and are in operation in the Russian Federation today, including 5,600 in the Non-Chernozem Zone. And it is important that the enterprises are investing more and more money in the development of their agricultural shops. Special attention should be given to the practice of extensive integration of enterprises of industry, transportation, construction organizations with the backward, neglected, kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Having discussed the burning problems related to improving the quality of the social conditions for the life of the rural population, the speakers said that our agrarian science and practice have for a long time been oriented only toward increasing the volume of agricultural production in the public sector. This one-sided scale and sometimes simply megalomania have had a negative effect both on the planning and on the building up of the rural village, especially when it comes to housing. Essentially no attention has been paid to the peasant farmstead. We should like to "erase the boundaries" between the city and the country as quickly as possible.

The speaker noted that so far the funds allotted for the social development of the Chernozem village and its municipal services have not been fully assimilated and the established assignments for introducing housing and social and cultural facilities in rural areas regularly go unfulfilled. During 1976-1988 more than R4 billion for these facilities were not assimilated. It is necessary to take the most energetic measures to make up for lost time, for only this will make it possible to solve the most crucial problem of the Non-Chernozem Zone—the problem of personnel and the creation of stable labor collectives.

A large amount of assistance is now being given to the Non-Chernozem Zone in the construction of roads and the installation of gas lines in the rural areas. It is the duty and obligation of each party committee and all soviet, economic, and Komsomol workers of the Non-Chernozem Zone to take full advantage of these possibilities of restoring the region and staffing kolkhoz and sovkhoz production with personnel.

Today we have entered a decisive stage in the radical restructuring of the economy and the entire way of life of the Soviet rural village, said A.V. Vlasov in conclusion. We are armed with the decisions of the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which are deeply reasoned and correspond to the most treasured hopes of the peasantry. Now we need, serious, persistent, daily work, the result of which should be real improvement of the food supply for the Soviet people.

G.I. Ulanov, first secretary of the Kaluga CPSU obkom, discussed in detail the measures taken by the oblast party organization for restoring the rural areas. Here they have developed a special program which envisions increasing the volumes of construction and the introduction of housing and other facilities by a factor of 1.5 as compared to the last 5-Year Plan. There are not continuing intensive buildup of 75 economically weak farms. The main forces of the contracting construction organizations and patronage enterprises of the cities and rayon centers are concentrated here. They are allotting R3-4 million for the development of each farm, and on these kolkhozes and sovkhozes they intend to construct 60-80 apartments and many other facilities.

Road construction plans are overfulfilled each year. Paved roads already link all the central farmsteads of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and by 1995 each brigade and farm will have access to the main highway. The transformations in the rural areas have had a favorable effect on the development of the oblast's agro-industrial complex.

During 3 years of the 5-Year Plan the productivity of grain crops has increased by a factor of 1.4 and potatoes—by a factor of 1.3. The milk yield per cow has increased by almost 500 kg. There is no longer a single farm in the oblast operating at a loss. And the main thing is that they have managed to improve the supply of food products for the population. The sale of meat and meat products has increased by a factor of almost 1.7 as compared to the 11th 5-Year Plan, and milk and dairy products—by a factor of 1.6.

In his speech A.A. Nikonov, president of VASKhNIL [V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences], devoted a good deal of attention in his speech to problems of scientific support for agricultural production in the modern stage and discussed the concrete results of the introduction of certain developments on a number of farms and regions of the Non-Chernozem Zone.

Participants in the conference visited a number of farms of the oblast. On the Oktyabrskiy and Priokskiy sovkhozes and the Tsiolkovskiy sovkhoz they learned

about the construction of housing and the development of public production and family farms of the population and visited private farmsteads. In conversations kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers and specialists expressed opinions about the fact that restrictions have now been removed and support and assistance is being given in raising cattle and poultry and gardening. They felt that under these conditions things would undoubtedly get going and there would be results. On the Priokskiy sovkhoz in Peremyshlyskiy Rayon the contractual relations between the rural farmstead and public production were of interest. The sovkhoz gave rural residents 250 piglets and 230 male calves to raise. In order to keep such a quantity of livestock it was necessary to build new premises and find people, and here was the possibility of increasing the number of head of livestock without additional expenditures. Priokskiy provided feed for the wintering of the livestock, allotting hay and concentrated feeds. In the summer the owners of the farmsteads mow land that is unsuitable for cultivation, the strips along railroads, and vacant areas where the grass has usually lodged. Over 2 years the kolkhoz helped the residents to construct 150 sheds for livestock. And things are proceeding. Last year the work supervisor Viktor Vasilyevich Molchanov took eight male calves and three piglets for fattening and sold 1.5 tonnes of meat. The bookkeeper Nina Ivanovna Zamayeva has a cow, three calves, and two piglets in her yard.

And here is the overall result: Of the meat sold to the state by the kolkhoz (and 550 tonnes of it were sold) 110 tonnes were received under agreements of this kind and 50 tonnes from private livestock of the population.

On the Oktyabrskiy sovkhoz in Ferzikovskiy Rayon the population sells 100 tonnes of milk and 40 tonnes of meat a year through the farm—this is also a substantial increase. In 1988 residents of the farms population points acquired 20 cows. Two cows, two calves, hogs, and poultry are kept by the cow milkers Vladimir Aleksandrovich and Lyubov Nikolayevna Lukin. Because on the central farmstead in addition to individual houses there are buildings with more than one apartment, they have constructed a so-called collective farm here for the private livestock of the workers and employees.

On Kaluga land they have developed the comprehensive program "Podvorye" which encompasses 130,000 family farmsteads. Last year more than one-fourth of the agricultural products were obtained from them, including 28 percent of the meat, 21 percent of the milk, 37 percent of the eggs, and 44 percent of the potatoes.

The oblast has increased the sale of concentrated feeds for the farms and the rural and village soviets have conducted questionnaires of the residents to find out which ones want to keep livestock. Material incentive measures have been developed and approved.

Many food products are obtained on Kaluga land from more than 200 subsidiary farms of enterprises which have been assigned about 60,000 hectares of land. Many agrarian shops have already learned how to obtain a fairly good return from this land. Almost a half quintal of meat per worker is produced by the subsidiary shop of the Kozelsk branch of the plant of the Scientific Research Institute of Automation Equipment and Instrument Building.

A great deal of interest has been evoked by the agrarian shop of the Kaluzhskiy Turbinnyy Zavod production association. This is a multiprofile subsidiary farm and has farms for raising cattle and hogs, an apiary, and a shop for producing fish.

The agrarian shop of the Kaluga engine construction production association was previously the Zeleninskiy sovkhoz which operated at a loss. Now it has been transformed. The yield from grain crops has increased from 6-8 quintals to 25 quintals per hectare. In 1988 20 tonnes of vegetables were raised on covered ground here. There is a hog raising complex which provides feeds for its own production and a smoke house which can handle a tonne of products a day. Workers of these enterprises receive an appreciable addition to their food supply.

The ministries play a large role in the development of farms of industrial enterprises. The USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry provides a good example. Here in the branch as a whole they produce for each worker 16 kg of meat, 45 kg of milk, 70 eggs, and about 9 kg of hothouse vegetables. The petroleum workers, incidentally, also have their own large farm here in Kaluga Oblast—the Lopatinskiy sovkhoz.

A crucial problem facing the farms of the oblast is the development of the processing industry directly at the places where the products are produced. A canning shop is being constructed on the Tsiolkovskiy sovkhoz, which delivers more than 23,000 tonnes of vegetables from open ground each year. It will produce up to 1.5 million cans of products and vegetables will be produced without any waste.

The processing base is becoming stronger in other parts of the oblast as well. In Vorotynsk they have constructed a sausage shop with refrigeration facilities and in Kaluga they have put into operation a module for 300 tonnes of sausage items a year and a shop for producing 10 tonnes of Russian ravioli; they have also constructed or reconstructed more than 125 stores and public catering enterprises. The Teplichnyy sovkhoz has two specialized stores in the city. On the outskirts of Kaluga there is a large broiler farm and in the city they have opened a "Ptitsa" store whose assortment includes more than 30 kinds of products.

The gardening and orchard societies have made their contribution to the cause of food supply. There are 80,000 families of workers and employees who have

plots of land. On small areas they produce up to 14,000 tonnes of potatoes and vegetables and almost as much fruit and berries. The owners of private plots can a significant share of their products or place them in clamps or basements to be stored for winter.

TASS correspondents asked participants to express their opinions regarding matters raised at the seminar-conference.

I.I. Kukhar, chairman of the union kolkhoz council, chairman of the breeding Vladimir Ilich farm-kolkhoz in Leninskiy Rayon in Moscow Oblast:

"We feel that the city is increasingly facing the rural areas and their needs. This kind of integration as well as the diversity of forms of management on the land toward which were were directed by the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is undoubtedly the right path. It will help us solve the food problem."

V.F. Yermanov, chairman of the board of Rospotrebsoyuz [Republic Union of Consumers' Societies of the RSFSR]:

"In keeping with the still current practice the kolkhozes and sovkhozes frequently fulfill their plans and adjust their financial plans using animal husbandry products which they buy from the private farms of citizens. It is necessary to put a stop to this practice. Then everything produced on the farmstead could be purchased by cooperation and it would be possible to appreciably increase the volumes of meat, milk, and other products sold in the stores and markets. This is what they did in Omsk and Penza Oblasts, Altay and Stavropol Krays, and the Tatar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. And this was no mistake."

L. N. Vologdin, chairman of the Vologda Oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom]:

"The Kaluga experience is instructive. But there are also many problems here. We workers in the Non-Chernozem Zone are especially bothered by the still slow building up of the rural areas. It would seem that this is being impeded by the circumstance that up to this point they have not yet determined the source for financing, say, housing and the social sphere."

Speaking at the second plenary meeting of the seminar-conference were S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; A.V. Pavlov, secretary of the Leningrad CPSU obkom; I.M. Cherepanov, chairman of the Moscow oblispolkom; L.V. Vasilyev, N.A. Pugin, and V.I. Reshetilov, USSR ministers; V.S. Krasnov, first secretary of the Morgaushskiy party raykom [rayon committee] of the Chuvash ASSR; A.M. Bagemskiy, chief of the Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, and others. They gave numerous examples of mutually advantageous cooperation between the city and the country, the assignment of personnel to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and a businesslike attitude toward the land. All this is a real manifestation of the modern agrarian policy of the CPSU. The country is accumulating experience in including party organizations of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of suburban regions in the party organizations of the oblast centers. This kind of practice exists in Kaluga and Kalinin Oblasts and in the Kuban. This is also an interesting process.

The results of the work of the seminar-conference were summed up by Ye.K. Ligachev. He said that the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee set forth as the primary task of restructuring the task of making the problem of the food supply for the country's population less critical in the near future. These problems must be solved more actively everywhere, including in the Non-Chernozem Zone. As before, the food market in Moscow is experiencing pressure from a number of oblasts located nearby. Thousands of people go to Moscow for food each day. We can no longer put up with this situation. Without putting it off for a single day, it is very important to put to use all sources for augmenting food resources. Each oblast and ministry must have a concrete plan of action for increasing food resources.

As we know, all forms of management in rural areas have now been given equal rights and conditions in our country. And their effectiveness increases with interaction. The process of coming together, close coordination, and interweaving of national, cooperative, and private forms of ownership is becoming stronger in rural areas. Along with the kolkhozes and sovkhozes cooperative and leasing collectives, private farmsteads, peasant farms, farms of industrial enterprise, gardening and orchard raising can provide for a rapid growth of the available quantity agricultural products.

Keeping people attached to the land is the subject for a special discussion. Here it should be recalled that no eloquent words can convince a person to stay and live and work in the country if it is difficult to obtain medical aid, to put a child into a school or kindergarten, acquire materials to build a house, or bring gas and water up to it, or to satisfy other urgent needs.

The task of local soviets, economic agencies, and consumers' cooperation in the Non-Chernozem Zone, like all other regions of the country, emphasized Ye.K. Ligachev, is to improve the conditions for the life of rural workers and to increase the production of agricultural raw material and its processing and the output of food products, i.e. to arrange things in such a way that in each region the population is provided with the food that it can and should produce locally. And thus it will be possible to eliminate the unnatural situation in which the rural population goes to the city for food products. The seminar-conferences conducted since the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in Omsk, Brest,

Stavropol, and Kaluga, and the experience of a number of rayons and oblasts show that by joining forces and with energetic work this can quite possibly be achieved.

Participating in the work of the seminar-conference were I.I. Skiba, chief of the Agrarian Division of the CPSU Central Committee; V.G. Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]; officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], and Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]; and leaders of ministries and departments of the RSFSR.

Spring Weather, Crop Conditions Reported

Report for Late April

18240155a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[Article by A. Grishina, agrometeorologist: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] The weather was primarily warm and dry in the majority of the European territory of the USSR at the end of April and the first days of May. The average 10-day air temperature exceeded the long-standing average by 3-6 degrees. Then it got cooler. Stalk growth was observed in winter wheat crops; in the south of Moldavia, the Ukraine, and Krasnodarskiy Kray, they have already formed ears. However, in a number of locals in Moldavia, the Ukraine, the east of the northern Caucasus region and the lower Volga, growth and development of winter crops has been retarded due to a deficit in soil moisture. There is no such danger in the majority of regions in the Non-Chernozem Zone. The height of winter rye is 20-40 cm; wheat, 10-15.

The shoots of early spring crops have appeared in Belorussia, the Baltic republics, the central, northwest areas and the Lower Volga. In the Ukraine, southwest Belorussia, and the northern Caucasus, the spring barley has begun tillering; in a number of areas, stalk growth has begun. The rates of plant development have preceded long-standing averages by 2-3 weeks almost everywhere. Crop condition is primarily good. Reserves of productive moisture in the plowed layer of soil in the majority of regions are sufficient (25-40 mm).

In beet fields with early crops in Moldavia, the Ukraine, and the northern Caucasus, second, and here and there third pairs of true leaves have been formed. There are potato shoots here. In the western oblasts of the Ukraine, the long-stemmed flax has been noted to be in the "herringbone" phase. Active vegetation is under way in vineyards—the unfolding of the third leaf and inflorescence have been commonly noted 1.5-2 weeks earlier than long-standing records.

In the northeast Volga-Vyatka, Volga, and Ural area, vegetation has been renewed among winter crops and perennial grasses. The plants here came out from under the snow covered in a weakened state; in many fields, they were observed to have perished under the snow.

The weather is warmer than usual in the Transcaucasian republics. Precipitation has been insignificant. Winter wheat and barley have formed heads in Azerbaijan. Cotton shoots have appeared.

It is cold in the majority of agricultural areas of Siberia. In certain areas, precipitation has fallen in the form of snow. Winter crop cultures and perennial grasses vegetated poorly only in the daylight hours. Frosts could have damaged the weakened plants. Reserves of productive soil moisture are sufficient in the majority of the territory. In Kazakhstan it got much cooler after the warming, up to the point of frosts. Damage to the leaves of alfalfa and sainfoin was noted in places in the southeast. The frosts had extremely unfavorable effects on flowering gardens and vineyards.

The weather in the Central Asian republics was unstable with extreme drops in air temperature, snowfall, and intense wind. In the majority of rayons of Kirghizia, in the north and some of the central rayons of Uzbekistan, as well as in the north of Tajikistan air or surface soil frosts were noted (from minus 1 to minus 7 degrees). Temporary snow cover was formed in a number of rayons. Conditions were extremely unfavorable for cotton shoots. They were damaged in significant areas; root rot appeared. Damage was done to orchards, vineyards, and silk farms. The growth of grasses in Kirghizia, a large part of Uzbekistan, and a number of rayons in Tajikistan has almost been halted. No damage to alfalfa was noted in Kirghizia and Uzbekistan, but plants died here and there. Here, the development of winter crops remains 15-20 days behind long-standing averages.

Weather in Kirghizia

18240155b Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 May 89 p 4

[Article by L. Kalashnikov: "Snow on the Scarlet Poppies"]

[Text] The foothills and valleys of Kirghizia are usually ablaze with poppies in the first 10 days of May. But the picture is now different: They are covered with snow.

This condition began back on 30 April, when a heavy snowfall began in almost all regions of the republic. The Talasskiy, Keminskiy, and Chuyskiy valleys and a number of mountain regions were hit especially hard by squalls. Here, the 2-3 days of snowfall were accompanied by intense cold unusual for these areas in May, down to minus 8-12 degrees.

Weather forecasters confirm that such freezing days have been experienced at this time of year in Kirghizia only about 60 years ago. And they fell onto the branches of the flowering orchards and the tender emerald grass and wheat sprouts and vegetable plants.

"Nature has done enormous damage," says U. Sydykov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, the manager of the headquarters created in the republic to combat the results of the freeze. "It is especially perceptible in field crop cultivation, horticulture and viniculture. Judge for yourself; from almost two-thirds of the plantings of perennial grasses, from 280,000 hectares, we practically will not get a single mowing; there will not be grapes or the famous Kirghiz apricots.... Running livestock to pasture has been stopped temporarily. There are losses in animal husbandry as well. And it would have seemed that things were going so well."

But the misfortune has not taken Kirghiz crop growers and animal farmers unawares. They had been warned about it by weather forecasters. They managed to reliably cover and save everything they could. They have shown and continue to show organization.

The republic headquarters, formed during the days of eliminating the consequences of the conditions which had not yet abated, is functioning. Here, all issues are resolved expeditiously; all applications of rayons and farms for seed material for new sowings, equipment, and fertilizer are fulfilled. Concentrated feed, allocated as a supplement from state reserves, arrives at the collective farms and state farms which need it. The experience of previous years is used in the struggle with the consequences of the freeze. For example, it was decided to conduct a premature mowing of the plantings of alfalfa damaged by the frost in order to give fresh sprouts an opportunity for growth. Intensive feeding of the remaining plants is being conducted. A decision was adopted to utilize feed most intensively with interrow spacing in the orchards and vineyards which are unfortunately free of fruit this year.

But I was troubled by yet another question: What lessons will the republic's agricultural specialists and scientists learn from this current complicated situation? The answer could be: For the time being, the thinking of the agrarian scientist has not been directed toward the introduction of frost-resistant types of, say fruit cultivars, especially grapes. After all, if such practices had been in use, then in many rayons of Osh Oblast and the Chuyskiy valley, they could have counted on their own grapes in spite of this bad spring. But they have not died in all areas.

Weather in Kazakhstan

18240155c Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 May 89 p 4

[TASS Report: "This Rough May"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 4 May (TASS). May came to southern Kazakhstan far from tenderly, rather, with heavy snowfall and night frosts.

Great damage was done to the farms of the southern oblasts, where the first shoots had already appeared and the fruit trees had already started to bloom. The same misfortune visited the land in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia.

"This was caused by the advance of a mass of cold air from Taymyr," says R. Krasnova, chief engineer at the republic's hydrometeorology center, "but while this temporary cooling is not too unusual a phenomenon for this time of year in the northern oblasts, for the southern regions, this is obviously an anomaly. This happens about once every 50 years. In the area of the weather station, the snow reached 9 cm, and the air temperature dipped to minus 3.8 degrees. Now, the weather for the republic's south for the whole month is expected to be unstable. Cool periods will alternate with sudden warming trends. A new wave of frost is expected in the last 10 days."

According to preliminary data, the plantings in Chimkent, Dzhambul, and Alma-Ata Oblasts suffered from the frosts. Losses were suffered to a lesser extent in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. Thus, in Chikment Oblast, the majority of vineyards suffered; there is no hope of a cherry, sour cherry, plum, or apricot harvest. This is also the fate of 60-70 percent of the apple and pear orchards.

Weather in Uzbekistan

18240155d Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 May 89 p 4

[Article by R. Tell: "Spring Cold Snaps"]

[Text] May brought snow to Uzbekistan. A deep chill brought an extraordinary situation to the republic's agriculture. The cotton factory is working round the clock to prepare seed. Almost half a million hectares of cotton will have to be replanted. Orchards and truck gardens suffered serious damage, as did vineyards, potato, and cucurbit fields. They lost 400,000 hectares of cereals, almost three-quarters of what had been sown. Mulberry silk farms were left almost without food; livestock which the cold caught at spring pasture died.

In commenting on the situation, I. Dzhurabekov, chairman of the republic's State Agro-industrial Committee and head of the extraordinary government commission for eliminating the effects of the natural disaster, noted that "people did not lose their bearings." They worked in the fields through holidays, managing to salvage no small portion of the harvest. The city is rendering assistance

with equipment, fuel, material, and hands. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan has confirmed primary measures needed to make up the losses.

"Perhaps we cannot get by without the support of the union organs, the losses are too great," says Ismail Khakimovich. "First and foremost, credit without interest is needed, budget allocations, fuel, fertilizer, grain fodder, and various materials."

Agricultural Developments for 9-16 May Reported

LD1805042789

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 9-16 May, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

9 May

No fileworthy items monitored.

10 May

Hard wheat will occupy 300,000 hectares in Altay Kray. Most of this area will be sown to the locally bred Hard Latayka variety. (0900)

Fifty-six percent of the total planed area has been sown under spring crops in the republic. More than 14,000 hectares of potatoes have also been planted, which is 38 percent of the planned target. (Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900)

11 May

No fileworthy items monitored.

12 May

Kiev—Ukrainian farms are sowing the last hectares of corn for grain which occupy 2 million hectares in the republic. The spring sowing of all crops has practically been completed, except in a number of regions in the republic's western oblasts that were flooded, where preparations are being made for secondary sowing on the affected fields. (0400)

It is the first time that farmers of Kirghizia completed spring works so late. Owing to heavy snowfall and ground frosts 10,000 hectares had to be resown at the beginning of May. (1300)

Polesye-3,000 is the name of a new fodder harvesting complex which was developed at the Gomselmash production association. The all-purpose machine can carry out dozens of different agricultural operations. (1300)

13 May

No fileworthy items monitored

14 May

Flax sowing has finished in Vitebsk Oblast; the crop covers more than 60,000 hectares. (0800)

15 May

Mass sowing of spring wheat has started in Altay and in Kurgan Oblast. In Altay some 3 million hectares is allocated to wheat, while the Kurgan area is about 1 million hectares. (1100)

16 May

Kustanay Oblast: 4,800,000 hectares are being sown to grain. (1330)

Today is traditionally the start of the sowing of spring wheat and other cereals in eastern parts of the country: Sowing is going on in the Altay, north Kazakhstan, the Urals, and Eastern Siberia. More than 40 million hectares are being put under cereal crops in these parts. (1100)

Military

'Komsomolets' Sinking, Recovery Efforts Viewed

Letter to Yazov

18010576 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 May 89 p 2

[Letter from People's Deputy Gavriil Popov to D.T. Yazov: "What Happened in the Norwegian Sea"]

[Text] **The tragedy in the Norwegian Sea which carried away the lives of 42 Soviet sailors brought pain to the hearts of millions of people. USSR People's Deputy Gavriil Popov considered it necessary to make an inquiry to USSR Minister of Defense Comrade D.T. Yazov.**

I am shaken by the death of the majority of the submarine's crew and I bow down before the courage of those who saved many people from the danger of nuclear contamination.

But I want to know not only about the proper actions of the crew but also about what was done during those hours by our command.

As a people's deputy I would like answers to questions such as these:

1. What (hour by hour) did the Ministry of Defense do while the crew was fighting to save the ship? Or, as during Rust's flight, was a few hours not enough time for our staff apparatus?

2. Why were the life rafts thrown from aircraft? Is there really no dependable equipment on the ship itself?

3. How many people died on the ship and how many drowned or froze to death in the water? Does the Northern Fleet have any heated suits such as the ones which the English assault forces had in the Falklands?

4. Does our Army have any airplanes capable of sea landings?

5. When did the crew receive the order to abandon ship? Why did the entire crew remain onboard for six hours? Why did the crew begin to abandon ship only when the situation had become super-critical? Or do we still, as in the time of Chkalov, not understand the truth which has long been clear to the entire world, that trained and qualified personnel are worth more than any equipment which they may be using? Or what is worse, are we still in the control of the conception of the times of the administrative system, when, if for the sake of saving ten calves a kolkhoznik is lost, that is called courage since a calf is worth a thousand roubles of government income, whereas the life of a citizen among all the other government assets is insignificant?

6. Why did we not turn to Norway for help, which would have expedited the rescue effort? Or does mistrust of soviet people still exist and is the possibility of saving them by a country which is a member of NATO excluded in principle?

FROM THE EDITORS. Publishing the questions of People's Deputy G. Popov to the minister, "LG" expects in a subsequent issue to provide space for publication of an explanation by the USSR Ministry of Defense.

Yazov Responds to Letter

18010576 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 May 89 p 2

[Letter from USSR Minister of Defense Yazov: "The Reasons for the Tragedy are Made Clear"]

[Text] **On the third of May "LG" published a series of questions written by USSR People's Deputy G. Popov addressed to me in connection with the sinking of the submarine "Komsomolets". I will now answer those questions.**

1. The first signal of the disaster was received at the command post of the Main Staff of the Navy and at the command post of the Northern Fleet at 1141. However, in view of the significant distortions it was impossible to determine from which ship the signal was coming. Without waiting for further clarification of the situation, the fleet's acting duty officer announced an alert to the rescue unit; the fleet's search and rescue station was also deployed. At 1219 a clear signal was received indicating the location of the ship. From 1234 to 1310 a rescue detachment consisting of the submarine rescue vessel, "Karabakh", and the rescue tug "SB-406" left Severomorsk for the area of the disaster. An alert was declared to the central command post of the Navy.

Receipt of the signal was immediately made known to the leadership of the Ministry of Defense. The operational services of the General Staff and other organs of the directorate were included in the organization of the rescue effort.

Direct command of the activities of the rescue forces was exercised by Admiral F. Gromov, commander of the Northern Fleet, from his command post. At 1245 the first airplane arrived at the area of the disaster with the mission of locating the ship onboard which the disaster had occured, maintaining stable communications with the on-shore command posts, and searching the area for ships and vessels and leading them to the area of the disaster. At 1252 the hydrographic ship "Kolguyev" located 71 miles (about 131 km) from the ship headed for the region of the disaster.

At the same time the Navy Command established communication with the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and the Ministry of the Fishing Industry, in order to determine whether or not there were any ships from these organizations near the ship which had suffered the disaster.

At 1317 the tender "Aleksey Khlobystov" from the "Sevryba" organization and the fishing trawler "SRT-612," which were located closer than any other ships to the area of the disaster at a distance of 51 miles (94 km) headed out for the area of the disaster. Aircraft from the Northern Fleet searched the adjacent areas but did not find any other ships (neither ours nor foreign).

From the nuclear-powered cruiser "Kirov", a reserve crew which had undergone training on the submarine "Komsomolets" was sent to the area of the disaster.

All of these measures were taken with a consideration of the experience gained from other such incidents in order to render whatever help was possible to the crew in its struggle to save the ship.

2. On board the submarine "Komsomolets" there was a sufficient quantity of equipment to ensure that the entire crew would be saved. However, when the liferafts were being released, one of them with a capacity of 20 people tipped over and was carried away by the wind. A part of the crew ended up in the water, the temperature of which was 4 degrees. In order to render them help our aircraft dropped their liferafts to which the submariners were not able to swim due to hypothermia.

3. Eleven sailors died on the ship itself. Two died onboard the tender "Aleksey Khlobystov" from hypothermia.

Twenty-nine men died in the water. The bodies of nineteen of them were recovered by approaching ships.

Twenty-seven submariners survived. The crew consisted of 69 people in all.

The fleet does not have any warming suits. They are on order from industry but have not yet been received.

4. The Navy does have in its inventory aircraft capable of performing sea-landings. However in the given situation, they could not land on the sea due to the significant level of turbulence of the water.

5. The command to abandon ship was given at 1651. The crew remained on board the ship for 5 hours in an attempt to save the ship. During the entire time the situation was monitored. Reports of the commander Captain First Rank Ye. Vanin recorded in documents, and the testimony of the surviving crewmen affirm: They were certain that the fire, as had already occurred in other similar instances, was extinguishable and that the ship would remain afloat.

By 1640 the situation was becoming critical. The ship suddenly went down by the stern which indicated that the ship was taking on water in the disaster struck seventh department, and that there was a threat of sinking. After this a decision was taken to evacuate the ship. At 1708 the submarine sunk. The crew remained in the water until the arrival of the tender "Aleksey Khlobystov".

6. Analysis shows that no one else could have made it to the area of the disaster earlier than the tender (1800).

The possible arrival time of Norwegian helicopters in the event they had been notified of the decision to abandon ship would have been 1930 and their coast guard ship would have arrived after 24 hours had elapsed.

A majority of the questions in the deputy's letter can be answered in sufficient detail with information contained in the newspapers PRAVDA, (15 April, 12 May); SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA (12 and 15 April); and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (11, 14, and 19 April).

As for the reasons for the tragedy in the Norwegian Sea, this is an issue being studied, as is well known, by the government commission.

The Ministry of Defense has already taken a number of organizational-technical measures directed at increasing the safety level of the ships.

[Signed] USSR Minister of Defense D. Yazov

Submarine Search Described

PM1705145989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Captain 3d Rank P. Ishchenko report: "Search Begun for the 'Komsomolets'"]

[Text] A detachment of special ships has been sent to the region where the submarine "Komsomolets" was lost.

The hydrographic ship "Persey" was the first to arrive there 11 May. The stormy weather—the sea swell reached force 5—prevented it from beginning the search right away. On 13 May, when the sea had calmed down somewhat, the "Persey" received materials on the preliminary work from the hydrographic ship "Elton," which was in the search area—it had spent 1 month plotting the seabed relief and conducting radiological studies of samples of air, water, and rock. Then, in accordance with the outlined plan, the "Persey" began marking out the search area and setting up and coordinating transponder-beacons. Since 15 May it has been studying the bed with the help of a towed, unmanned, underwater apparatus which it has on board.

"All information from the search area arrives at the search and rescue post set up at the fleet command center," Captain 1st Rank A. Zakharov, chief of the Northern Fleet Search and Rescue Service, said. "There it will be generalized and analyzed. From there recommendations will be sent to the ships searching for the sunken submarine."

The "Persey" will be joined approximately 17 May by the USSR Academy of Sciences scientific research ship "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh." And a few days later by the recovery ship "Mikhail Rudnitskiy." With their arrival in the search area manned underwater apparatuses will set to work.

Admiral Sorokin Interviewed on Restructuring

PM1705161189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 May 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed interview with Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate: "To Be in the Vanguard of Restructuring"; place, date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Excerpts] We are approaching the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, whose history is inseparable from the country's destiny and from the life-giving processes of consistently building up and more fully realizing the spiritual potential of the armed defenders of the socialist fatherland.

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office asked Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, to answer a number of questions associated with this event. [passage omitted]

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Matters of defense capability and military service are currently the subject of broad discussion within society. Our editorial office has received a fair number of letters whose writers ask the Army's and Navy's leading political organ to provide a somewhat more detailed "self-portrait."

[Sorokin] The Main Political Directorate's organizational structure is determined by the CPSU Central Committee. It consists of directorates and departments, the main among them being the Organizational Party Work Directorate, the Propaganda and Agitation Directorate, the Personnel Directorate, and the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] Work Department.

In order to ensure collectiveness in solving the most important problems of party-political work, a Main Political Directorate Bureau was created by a party Central Committee decision.

The Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate is accountable for its activity to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Defense Council, and it reports to the USSR defense minister on matters concerning the state of troops and political work in the Army and the Navy.

It must be noted that the range of the Main Political Directorate's duties is exceptionally broad. One of its main functions is to provide leadership of political organs and of party and Komsomol organizations and to ensure the CPSU's influence on all aspects of the life and activities of troops and naval forces. It elaborates the structure of political organs and the political apparatus and the most important problems of their building and their ideological and cadre work and leads the practical activity of political organs and of party and Komsomol organizations.

The solution of all these tasks has an overall positive effect on matters of implementing the party's military policy, military building, and the nurturing of lofty moral-political and combat qualities among the personnel. At the same time, the years of stagnation certainly left their imprint on party political work and the activity of political organs. Elements of formalism, conservatism, and inertia developed in the work style of many of them. The situation was aggravated by their well-known leaning toward administrative edict methods, and they assumed a steadily growing number of controlling and executive functions, supplanting the relevant commanders and chiefs. Many of these shortcomings were also present in the Main Political Directorate. All this had a negative effect on the state of affairs within military collectives. The level of military discipline declined in some formations, units, and ships. Particular concern was caused by the so-called nonregulation mutual relations between servicemen doing different service terms.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Comrade admiral of the fleet, our readers would like to find out more about the way political organs and the Main Political Directorate are restructuring themselves, what are the new elements in their work? And mainly: How fruitful have been the efforts made to improve the health of the entire situation in the Army and the Navy?

[Sorokin] It is well known that restructuring in the Army and the Navy is based on the 19th all-union party conference directive on the reorientation of Soviet military building toward qualitative parameters in technology, military science, and the composition of the Armed Forces. As a result of the sizeable unilateral reduction of Soviet Armed Forces, they will acquire a different structure than at present—unambiguously defensive. This tenet underlies our military doctrine.

At the same time, a thorough analysis of all factors determining the development of the contemporary military-political situation shows that the military threat still remains, despite the easing of international tension and the blocking of certain negative trends in world development. This being so, the orientation toward a high level of vigilance, quality of training, and mobility of troops and naval forces and their constant readiness to perform any tasks assigned by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government will remain the core of our political work and practical activity, the main objective of restructuring in the Army and Navy.

While elaborating and implementing the concept of restructuring party political work, the Main Political Directorate is aiming for a turnabout in its own work and the work of political organs and party organizations in the direction of political tasks and political methods of leadership. This means fully reviving the principle of active party political backing for combat and mobilization readiness and the combat readiness of troops and naval forces, shifting the center of gravity of all educational work specifically to man, taking into account the diversity of interests of individuals, multinational military collectives, and public organizations, relying on them, and involving them in increasingly active participation in all spheres of soldiers' life. This is the priority avenue in our activity.

Speaking specifically about the Main Political Directorate, it is necessary to mention that noticeable changes are occurring also in its own activity. To start with, its apparatus has been cut back by 20 percent. There has been an appreciable renewal of its cadres—almost 50 percent over the last 3 years. The content of basic tasks performed by GlavPUR [main political directorate] departments in their directorates has been reviewed and amplified with due consideration for the demands by

restructuring. A Commission for Interethnic Relations has been formed under the GlavPUR, and a scientific information center will be created involving social scientists and party political work practitioners from the troops.

Broader glasnost and democracy are becoming increasingly typical of the work of the central political organ, of political departments, and of party organizations. For the first time ever in the history of the Armed Forces, political organs' activity was appraised at the recent party conferences. Now all commanders and deputy commanders for political matters, regardless of their position, are accountable to the primary party organization.

Taking into account the public's increased interest in the Army and the Navy, our ties with the mass media are expanding: A military editors and consultants department has been created in the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, as well as a military-political desk in the press service [APN]. A military-artistic writers' workshop operates under the GlavPUR. A number of central newspapers are setting up departments to cover life and activity in the Army and Navy, and measures are being taken to improve the military press.

We realize that in the conditions of restructuring, decisive importance attaches to an active stance by every worker in the Main Political Directorate and especially members of its inspectors' and instructors' staff who spend most of their working time in grassroots political organs, party organizations, and military collectives. Demands made of officers being sent out among the troops have been significantly enhanced over the last few years. The main point is to ensure that their activity is not limited to just taking "snapshots" of the state of affairs but is aimed at correcting any shortcomings that might come to light and selecting the most effective organizational and political forms for the work of political organs and party organizations.

Glasnost in the GlavPUR's cadre policy has been significantly expanded today. Priority is given to those who have restructured their thinking for work in the new fashion and have largely abandoned the stereotypes of the past, those who have experience in the organization of party-political work among the troops. Many officers endowed with the aforementioned qualities serve in the central political apparatus, among them officers L.B. Serebrov, V.G. Kuznetsov, V.N. Kanarik, A.P. Storozhenko, N.I. Rumyantsev, A.P. Pavlov, V.V. Perevoznikov, P.P. Abramov, Yu.T. Samylkin, Yu.Ya. Frolov, and I.Ye. Yefimov.

As a result of measures taken at both central and local level, it can be said that the Army and Navy are now adapting to new conditions. A different political and moral atmosphere and the corresponding ideological climate are taking hold in military collectives. The spiritual ties and interests of soldiers, sailors, and officers have become closer and more intimate. A process of improving the health of the discipline situation has been under way since 1986, and there is more concern for the social and consumer services sphere. During the last academic year we achieved a significant reduction in the number of units with unsatisfactory assessments, there was a reduction of almost 25 percent in the number of gross disciplinary offenses, and there was a tighter squeeze on so-called "bullying."

But the process of restructuring in the Army and Navy is not proceeding uniformly, and this also applies to the Main Political Directorate, its party committee, and the party organizations in directorates and departments. The main difficulty lies in the thorough demolition of stereotypes which prevailed for decades in the style and methods of our work, the organization of verification and monitoring of execution, and the elimination of passiveness and equanimity.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] And one last question. Which problems in our life today, which at times takes the most surprising turns, could you single out for political organs' attention, what is especially worrying, on what should political staff cadres primarily focus their attention?

[Sorokin] Briefly speaking, in my view these problems boil down to the following. First, it is necessary to make every effort to humanize relations between servicemen with corresponding adherence to the principle of one-man command. This means primarily concern for the closeness between chiefs (especially political workers!) and subordinates; it means waging an uncompromising struggle to eradicate so-called nonregulation relations between servicemen; it means nurturing high standards of interethnic contact. Much is already being resolved here, but there are also outstanding matters.

Take interethnic relations for example. Soldiers of almost all nationalities populating our country serve in our military collectives. Relations between them are not always equal, here and there the role of international education is underestimated, no account is taken of the specific natio[illegible] feature of individual soldiers, some officers are unprepared to work with this category of personnel. This is especially noticeable against the background of the sundry nationalist winds blowing in a number of the country's regions.

To turn military service into a genuine school of internationalism—this task assigned to us by the 19th party conference is especially topical today in the course of preparation for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations.

The democratization of all processes in Army and Navy life is a subject of paramount concern. This applies to the selection and promotion of cadres, concern for the creation and distribution of social benefits (housing, travel vouchers, and so on), and enhancement of the role

of the public and of public opinion in solving all matters of importance for the life of military collectives and servicemen's families, especially in the conditions created by the reduction of the Armed Forces which is now under way.

Briefly speaking, our times assign special responsibility to political organs and party organizations. Only unity of word and deed can today determine the success of party political influence on the solution of the fundamental tasks set by the party and its Central Committee for the Soviet Army and Navy concerning the combat readiness of troops and naval forces, the improvement of the personnel's combat training, and the strengthening of discipline in formations, units, and ships. An example of such an approach at the present exceptionally important moment in history must be set by the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, which is the instrument of party policy in the Army and Navy.

Yazov Visits Kiev Military District Troops

PM1705141189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov report: "To Improve the Quality of Combat Training"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, has spent 2 days with Kiev Military District troops. He met with V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and familiarized himself with the progress of the spring final check among the troops, with the life and routine of personnel, and with the organization of combat training in a military guards' unit. There were meetings with the command and with students and cadets of the Marshal of the Soviet Union A.M. Vasilevskiy Military Academy of Ground Forces Air Defense, the Kiev Higher Naval Political School, and the Kiev M.V. Frunze Higher Combined Arms Command School.

The USSR minister of defense spoke about the progress of restructuring in the country and in the Armed Forces and about the measures the party is taking to ensure peace and to maintain the combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy at the proper level. Army General D.T. Yazov emphasized that in connection with the reduction in the Armed Forces everything possible is being done to resolve the social problems facing servicemen being discharged into the reserve. At the same time there is a significant increase in the responsibility of commanders, political workers, and personnel for the improved quality of combat training, observance of firm regulation order, the strengthening of organization and military discipline, and the education of servicemen in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, friendship and cohesion.

A warm, confidential, and direct discussion was held with the academy students and military school cadets on their mastering of the art of working with people, on officers' first steps, on the need to be closer to subordinates, and on the strength of personal example.

The USSR minister of defense was accompanied by Colonel General B.V. Gromov, commander of Kiev Military District, and by Major General Yu.Ya. Gudimov, first deputy chief of the District Political Directorate.

CPSU Greets Military Political Organs, Workers

PM1705135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to Soviet Army and Navy political organs, commanders, and political workers; undated]

[Text] On V.I. Lenin's initiative the Political Directorate of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council was formed 70 years ago, in May 1919. By the creation of the central military-political organ, subsequently transformed into the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, the formation of a single system of leading party organs in the Armed Forces was completed.

Throughout the entire history of its development the political organs firmly ensured the daily influence of the Communist Party on the Army and Navy's life and activity, and tirelessly strengthened their military power. The political organs made an invaluable contribution to organizing the armed defense of the young Soviet republic and routing the counterrevolution and warding off foreign intervention. From the early days of the Great Patriotic War commissars, political workers, and Army and Navy Communists—who were in the crucial areas of the fighting, demonstrated courage and heroism—were a shining example of selfless service to the people, and were the true organizers of the masses in the struggle for our country's freedom and independence. They instilled in the soldiers high moral and political and combat qualities, boldness and bravery, strength of spirit, and the unbending will for victory over the enemy.

At present persistent work is under way in the USSR Armed Forces, as in all spheres of Soviet society's life, to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the the 19th all-union party conference, and to expand and deepen revolutionary restructuring. Its most important task is the practical implementation of the new political thinking in the sphere of defending the country, and the reorientation of military building and the training of troops and naval forces in accordance with the new defensive doctrine primarily on qualitative lines.

In these conditions the party believes it is essential to boost the role of political organs and party organizations in the Armed Forces' life and activity. It is the duty of political workers always to be at the center of the masses,

and to persistently master the methods of political leadership, deepen democracy, and strengthen social justice. It is necessary to increase Communists' activity and responsibility, show concern for people, support their initiative and creativity, and on this basis strive for good results in maintaining combat readiness and discipline, educating servicemen, and rallying the multinational military collectives. It is also essential to continue to strengthen the indissoluble spiritual tie between the Army and the people.

The CPSU Central Committee ardently congratulates the political organs, party organizations, commanders, political workers, and all Soviet Army and Navy Communists in connection with the 70th anniversary of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council Political Directorate and expresses confidence that they will continue to be a reliable combat detachment of Lenin's party and the vanguard of Soviet soldiers in fulfilling their patriotic and international duty in the name of defending the socialist motherland and maintaining and strengthening peace on earth.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

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